

THE LIFE OF
GENERAL SIR H. N. D. PRENDERGAST
R.E., V.C., G.C.B.



W. R. Mendenhall.

THE LIFE OF
GENERAL SIR HARRY
N. D. PRENDERGAST
R.E., V.C., G.C.B.

(THE HAPPY WARRIOR)

BY

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"THE MILITARY HISTORY OF THE MADRAS ENGINEERS"

"ADDISCOMBE: ITS HEROES AND MEN OF NOTE"

"RICHARD BAIRD SMITH, THE LEADER OF

THE HEROES OF DELHI, 1857"

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DEDICATED
TO THE MEMORY OF
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
FREDERIC TEMPLE HAMILTON BLACKWOOD
FIRST MARQUIS OF DUFFERIN AND AVA
VICEROY OF INDIA
ONE OF THE FEW OF THOSE IN HIGH PLACES WHO JUSTLY
APPRECIATED THE FINE CHARACTER AND GRAND QUALITIES
OF
THE SUBJECT OF THIS MEMOIR



PREFACE

I HAVE ventured to preface the life of my friend by the following lines from Wordsworth, as it appears to me that Sir Harry Prendergast's remarkably fine character is fitly and accurately portrayed in the words of this fine poem ; and I sincerely trust that in following out his career I shall be fully able to justify my estimate of his noble character. A man whose every word, and every thought, and every act were the words, thoughts, and deeds of a manly, true-spirited, high-minded Englishman, one whose whole life, whether civil or military, was one continued career of kindness, honour, honesty of purpose, nobility of heart combined with the purest loyalty, and the most enthusiastic patriotism, and one who was loved and honoured by his countrymen ; I shall endeavour to mark his character by, as far as is possible, using the words he himself wrote.

CHARACTER OF THE HAPPY WARRIOR

Who is the Happy Warrior? Who is he
That every man in arms should wish to be?
It is the generous spirit, who, when brought
Among the tasks of real life, hath wrought
Upon the plan that pleased his boyish thought:
Whose high endeavours are an inward light
That makes the path before him always bright;
Who, with a natural instinct to discern
What knowledge can perform, is diligent to learn;
Abides by this resolve, and stops not there,
But makes his moral being his prime care;

Who, doomed to go in company with pain,
And fear, and bloodshed, miserable train!
Turns his necessity to glorious gain;
In face of these doth exercise a power
Which is our human nature's highest dower;
Controls them and subdues, transmutes, bereaves
Of their bad influence, and their good receives;
By objects which might force the soul to abate
Her feeling, rendered more compassionate;
Is placable—because occasions rise
So often that demand such sacrifice;
More skilful in self-knowledge, even more pure,
As tempted more; more able to endure,
As more exposed to suffering and distress;
Thence, also, more alive to tenderness.
'Tis he whose law is reason; who depends
Upon that law as on the best of friends;
Whence, in a state where men are tempted still
To evil for a guard against worse ill,
And what in quality or act is best
Doth seldom on a right foundation rest,
He labours good on good to fix, and owes
To virtue every triumph that he knows:
Who, if he rise to station of command,
Rises by open means; and there will stand
On honourable terms, or else retire,
And in himself possess his own desire;
Who comprehends his trust, and to the same
Keeps faithful with a singleness of aim;
And therefore does not stoop, nor lie in wait
For wealth, or honours, or for worldly state;
Whom they must follow; on whose head must fall
Like showers of manna, if they come at all;
Whose powers shed round him in the common stri
Or mild concerns of ordinary life,
A constant influence, a peculiar grace;
But who, if he be called upon to face
Some awful moment to which Heaven has joined
Great issues, good or bad for human kind,
Is happy as a lover; and attired

With sudden brightness, like a man inspired ;
 And through the heat of conflict keeps the law
 In calmness made, and sees what he foresaw ;
 Or if an unexpected call succeed,
 Come when it will, is equal to the need :
 He who, though thus endued as with a sense
 And faculty for storm and turbulence,
 Is yet a soul whose master bias leans
 To homefelt pleasures and to gentle scenes ;
 Sweet images ! which, whereso'er he be,
 Are at his heart ; and such fidelity
 It is his darling passion to approve ;
 More brave for this, that he hath much to love :
 'Tis, finally, the man, who, lifted high,
 Conspicuous object in a nation's eye,
 Or left unthought of in obscurity,—
 Who, with a toward or untoward lot,
 Prosperous or adverse, to his wish or not,
 Plays, in the many games of life, that one
 Where what he most doth value must be won ;
 Where neither shape of danger can dismay,
 Nor thought of tender happiness betray ;
 Who, not content that former worth stand fast,
 Looks forward, persevering to the last,
 From well to better, daily self-surpass ;
 Who, whether praise of him must walk the earth
 For ever, and to noble deeds give birth,
 Or he must fall to sleep without his fame,
 And leave a dead, unprofitable name,
 Finds comfort in himself and in his cause ;
 And, when the mortal mist is gathering, draws
 His breath in confidence of Heaven's applause :
 This is the Happy Warrior ; this is he
 That every man in arms should wish to be.



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THE LIFE OF SIR HARRY N. D. PRENDERGAST

CHAPTER I

THE PRENDERGAST FAMILY

THE name of Prendergast carries us back to the early days of Norman rule in England. One branch of the family settled in Northumberland and Berwickshire, and the record of its deeds of chivalry may be found in the pages of the Scottish Chronicler Fordoun. Another branch with which we have to deal held possessions in Pembrokeshire, where the parish of Prendergast, close to Haverfordwest, still preserves the name; and it is probable that the family gave the name to the locality.

Prendergast is of Flemish origin. William the Conqueror married Matilda, the daughter of the puissant Earl of Flanders, so it is not strange that William in his invasion of England should be accompanied by Flemish knights. These Flemings obtained liberty to provide for themselves in various directions, and some of them went to South Wales with a view of keeping the Welsh in order. Their settlement there was called Little England in Wales, and there is still the Flemings Way distinguishable as a road.

The family tradition is that Philip de Prendergast accompanied Gerald de Windsor into Wales about 1105 A.D. and received grants of land there. The first

of the Prendergasts of the Pembroke family who is known to history was Maurice de Prendergast, one of the precursors of Richard de Clare, second Earl of Pembroke ("Strongbow"), in the invasion of Ireland in the reign of Henry II.

Maurice accompanied an expedition into Ireland in 1169 with Robert FitzStephen and Maurice Fitzgerald in consequence of an appeal for help from Diarmid, a Prince who occupied a country extending from the river Barrow to the Wexford and Wicklow seaboard. They landed at Bannow in May of that year, captured the town of Wexford, and spread over the whole of Leinster. Maurice de Prendergast is credited with an important part in a battle in which the Prince of Ossory was defeated by Diarmid, and he was leader of an expedition against the same Prince whom he defeated at Aghadur (Freshford).

Almost immediately Prendergast had a quarrel with Diarmid. The result of this quarrel was that Maurice took service with McDonched of Ossrayhe (Ossory).

Prendergast now revisited South Wales, and returned to Ireland in 1170 with Strongbow, when the freebooting expedition in aid of Diarmid developed into a political conquest (with the permission of Henry II.). In this Maurice de Prendergast took a distinguished part, and in the course of which he was able to give protection to his old friend the Prince of Ossory. Maurice was given a grant of land in Wexford, soon exchanged for possessions in Munster.

Maurice de Prendergast died in 1205, having become a Knight of St. John of Jerusalem and Master of the Hospital of Kilmainham.

To the Society of St. John of Jerusalem he gave the Pembroke family property, and so severed the connection of the Prendergast family with South Wales.

The direct male line of the original Maurice de Prendergast descended through his eldest son, Philip, who married an heiress of the De Quincey family, and

added to his patrimony a considerable amount of De Quincey property near Enniscorthy.

The estates of the main line passed into the Cogan and Rochfort families through heiresses in the thirteenth century.

Many cadet branches were scattered over Ireland, and the most important of these were undoubtedly the Lords of Newcastle, whose possessions lay between Clonmel and Buttevant, and on the borders of Limerick.

Those Prendergasts of Newcastle—descended from a younger son of Philip de Prendergast and Maude de Quincey—played a very distinguished part in Irish history until the seventeenth century, when they suffered in the forfeitures under Cromwell. They were, however, fortunate enough to recover a considerable proportion of their lands, partly by regrants and partly by purchases.

The last Lord of Newcastle before the Cromwellian forfeitures, Edmond (*d.* 1656), had a younger son, Thomas, who married Eleanor Condon (a daughter of David Condon, Esq., a famous Irish family), and lived to a great age till 1725 at Croane, of which he had a beneficial lease. His eldest son, Thomas, refounded the fortunes of the family. He was created a baronet in 1699, and his descendants of the noble family of Gort represent in the female line the Lords of Newcastle, the direct male line becoming extinct in the eighteenth century.

Thomas, first baronet, had a younger brother, Jeffrey of Croane, and from him descended Sir Harry Prendergast and his elder brother, Hew. This Jeffrey married Margaret, daughter of William Daniel, Esq., and died 1735, leaving a son, Thomas, who married Mary, daughter of John Keating, Esq. His wife was said to be somewhat lax in her attendance at the services of the parish church, and a neighbouring squire publicly accused her of being a "concealed papist"—the result being a duel with pistols at twelve paces, nothing but the death of the traducer being sufficient in the husband's

eyes, to wipe out the deadly insult. Unfortunately it was the irate husband who fell mortally wounded on the Green of Clonmel, and the orthodoxy of the lady's religious opinions remained unvindicated. This was in 1761. This Thomas left a son, also Thomas, born 1719, of Johnstown Park, Clonmel, who held for many years the office of Deputy Registrar of the Court of Chancery in Dublin, in which office he was afterwards succeeded by his third son, Francis. Thomas married, in 1757, Jane, daughter of Samuel Gordon, Esq., of Spring Garden, Co. Waterford, at that time a very young lady in her fifteenth year by whom he had a numerous family.

His fourth son, Jeffrey, born in 1769, was grandfather of Sir Harry Prendergast. This Jeffrey had a remarkable career. In the year 1794, having been promised an appointment at San Domingo by a relation of his mother's, at that time holding an influential position in the island, Jeffrey started for the West Indies on 27th July 1794 in the *Belmont* from Gravesend. On the 5th June 1795 he sends to his mother an account of his adventures during the last year, and they are of sufficient interest to deserve some notice in this volume.

The weather was fine, and it seemed as if they would have a short and pleasant voyage.

"The *Belmont* carried 22 guns, and what added much to our ideal security was our hope of being overtaken by the Grand Fleet, and convoyed a part of our voyage."

On the 11th August, whilst at supper, they heard the distant report of a cannon.

The reason of this could not be ascertained, but on the following morning, about 5 a.m., three ships were discerned, which shortly proved to be French frigates of no mean size. They endeavoured to escape, but it was of no avail.

After a short engagement the colours of the *Belmont* were lowered. This took place on the 12th August,

and Jeffrey Prendergast, with the captain and a few of the passengers, were removed to the commodore's ship, and received much attention and civility. While they remained on board, the frigates were constantly cruising, and took several English prizes. During the engagements the prisoners were all sent down to the lower deck, and were nearly suffocated by the smoke.

They arrived at Brest on 22nd August, and were removed to a prison ship, where they were really half starved. At this time they lay in the centre of the French Grand Fleet which had just recovered from the wounds of 1st June (Howe's victory off Ushant). Every morning and evening the crews of each ship assembled on deck, and sang their patriotic hymns and songs in chorus, which was remarkably fine, and were their only prayers. On the 16th September they were, to the number of 50, landed and received by a strong military guard, and a great mob to look at them. Their party consisted of 12 officers and passengers and 38 sailors. During their march they were treated with little consideration, had inferior food given them, and that in a grudging spirit. They were marched to Dinant, and their prison there was one of the finest and handsomest convents in France, encompassed with beautiful gardens and high walls, and at this time contained fully 2000 prisoners. They were treated badly here, being imprisoned in dungeons, and their food being execrable.

However, almost immediately they had to set out from Dinant to Caen.

In general their treatment was similar to what has been mentioned, except when any of their guards were gentlemen, for then they received better treatment, and often their parole in the evening enabled them to go out and lodge or sup at inns, and amuse themselves in the towns. At Caen they had full liberty for the greater part of the day, and in the evening attended the theatre, where they were much taken notice of.

The farther they got into the interior of France the better they were treated, and always found the people less prejudiced by the then prevailing opinions.

They had the same liberty at Rouen, Chartres, Corbeil, and Sééz, and many other principal places, which it was pleasant to have seen. "On the 22nd October at Ramillard we were billeted at the houses of citizens. Jeffrey was at the house of an honest tallow chandler who, with a large family, were all violent Royalists." "It was his duty to give us a certain allowance of meat and wine, but we requested him to give us a good dinner, etc., and promised to pay him. He had a good dinner for the family to which he invited us, and in the evening took us to a large party of ladies, where we got an exceedingly good supper, and joined with a number of young people in dancing and acting some small plays. I do not recollect that I ever laughed or enjoyed anything so much. I could just speak enough French to make them laugh most immoderately. It was a late hour when we broke up, and at our departure we received every mark of good wishes, and every compliment which those agreeable people could give us." "Our friendly landlord provided us good beds, and refused any payment whatever. In the morning, when we were marching through the streets, attended by our guards, we saw many of the ladies whom we had met the evening before, who now openly wished us a *bon voyage*."

"The recollection of this and many other instances that occurred in France of unexpected friendship and civility leaves a very strong impression on my mind, and if ever I am independent enough to take a journey of pleasure in Europe, I shall most certainly visit France."

It was not till 1835 (more than 40 years after) that Sir Jeffrey Prendergast was able to gratify the wish expressed of visiting France under happier circumstances. In that year he travelled in a post-chaise for

three months through France and Belgium, accompanied by his eldest son, Harris, who was to him a new acquaintance, the father and son not having met since 1809, when the son, then a child of four years old, was sent home to England for his education.

“Our route from this place (Ramillard) was to a village called Lille de Montagne, where we arrived on 14th October, but on account of the Royalists being in force in that part of the country, fresh orders were issued that we should be conducted to Provins, more than 150 miles distant. A general discontent prevailed in consequence of this order, and we laid a statement of our case before the Municipal officers, and were allowed to remain a few days at this place. During this time we lived pleasantly. We lodged at an inn, and were allowed full liberty to walk wherever we chose. We had a pack of cards, and every evening played whist in a public coffee-room, where we were regularly visited by the ladies. They used to come completely dressed in all their finery to see the four English prisoners play at cards. You may judge how well we played our cards when I tell you that on the day before we parted a dinner was provided for us, and a collection was afterwards made among the inhabitants for the sailors. You can conceive how perfectly tranquil the French were at the time, and how much more freedom of opinion existed among them than people of this country imagined.

“On the 19th October we again set out. There was much wet weather during our journey, and at Alençon, where, after travelling the whole day under extremely heavy rain, we were ordered all together into a most wretched prison. By this time we were so accustomed to long journeys and wettings that they did not much disconcert us, and we in general found ourselves well and refreshed in the morning.

“On the 30th October we arrived at Melun after a severe wetting, and this induced me in the morning to

feign sickness, so that I might be allowed to remain there. The Commissary of War was informed of my illness, and ordered me to the hospital. I remained in it two days, and was then brought to the Commissary, who told me to meet him at a house where an English lady resided. This was a Miss Power, who had been detained in France since the commencement of the war. Through her means, the Commissary allowed me a good lodging in the barracks, which were at that time occupied by prisoners of war. I remained a month in this town, and obtained as many books as I chose to borrow from Miss Power. I dined once with a family of her friends. She mentioned that her father was a Mr. Thomas Power of Clonmel, a relation of the Barrows, but she herself didn't know any of our friends whom I named to her.

"In the list of prisoners sent from Brest, the place of birth of each person is always attached to their names, mine was taken down 'Clonmell,' but by mistake the clerk who wrote out the list wrote 'Colonel' instead of 'Clonmell' with my name. Had it not been for this error I should have been liberated in November. If I could have proved that I had been merely a passenger I should not have been detained, but after doing all in my power to prove the mistake, I found myself obliged to remain a colonel, and was ever after looked upon as such in France.

On the 29th November I was ordered to follow my company of prisoners who were about 40 miles off. I set off, therefore, directly on foot, and on the 1st December found them at a small village, Chalantré la Grand. We lived here for a month pleasantly enough. Our amusements were walking, skating, and playing cards, for we had no books to read. While we remained here, we were all paid equally—10 sous per day, and 1½ lb. of bread to each during the first ten days. After this an order was received from Paris to send the prisoners out of the country, and to pay

each captain, and all above that rank, 6 livres a day, and inferior officers in proportion. Under this order I was rated, and received pay as a colonel, and the passengers were ordered to be marched out of the country by way of Brussels. The passengers, however, had not proceeded more than four days on their journey when a counter order was sent to recall them. As for me, the mistake of calling me colonel now proved fortunate, as my pay was still continued at 6 livres per day, when as a passenger I should have received only 10 sous.

“After the beginning of January, I and my three companions got permission to leave the village, and to live at Provins, a large, pleasant town about 9 miles off. In this place we spent five weeks very pleasantly, and soon had many acquaintances. We used frequently to go 12 or 15 miles off to visit prisoners who were in the different towns or villages about us, and sometimes remained absent several days without any inquiry being made for us. In these towns, Provins in particular, we never received the least slight or insult. We had pleasant lodgings, and dined every day at a tavern where the family of the house were always attentive and civil. In the course of my journey I met at different times many English officers, prisoners, but about none of whom I had ever before heard anything. It was, however, pleasant to us to meet, particularly to them, because we could give them much later news from England than they in general had heard.

“The churches, which at that time were employed for public works, and which were often assigned to us for our lodging, exhibited the most melancholy ruins of former grandeur. The heads of all the images were carefully taken off, and the bodies broken, and thrown about the ground. Mottoes were written upon all sides, expressive of the public abhorrence of religion and piety; the beautiful stained glass and expensive ornaments were almost entirely destroyed,

and in general the churches and convents were made use of for the manufacture of cannon and gunpowder.

"About the middle of January it was ordered that the officers' pay should be reduced to 10 sous per day, as formerly, which circumstance first induced us to attempt to escape, as we could not live on that pay, and our purses were then much reduced.

"On the 9th of February I set off with a Mr. Smith and a Mr. Silver for Switzerland from Provins—the weather being very severe and cold. We each provided ourselves with a French cockade, a pair of peasant's strong shoes and worsted stockings, and a small pocket-bottle of brandy. We also procured a good Government map of France, afterwards of the greatest service. We constantly walked on the high road, and frequently met the French Guards. They often looked at us narrowly, but observing our cockades, and the confident appearance we assumed, they never questioned us. In order to avoid the towns and cities, we were frequently obliged to cross very rugged mountains, and, in general, slept at villages or single houses on the road. We were constantly questioned as to who we were, and this was several times nearly proving fatal to us. Till we got near Switzerland our usual characters were Swiss pedlars, which we were but badly able to support from not knowing the language and never having been into the country. We often called ourselves Americans and Hamburgers, but, on the whole, to fortune, and not to any cleverness of our own, are we indebted for our good success." "It was very often necessary, on account of rivers being in our way, to go through large towns. When this occurred we took care to clean our shoes, and throw off as much as possible the appearance of travellers before we went into them; and then by walking carelessly through, the guards at the gates either supposed us to be inhabitants, or for some other reason did not question us. It was our custom to pro-

cure bread and cheese to carry in our pockets, which served for breakfast and dinner, and at night we usually got a good supper, paying handsomely for it. In the towns near Switzerland provisions were remarkably dear, so much so that for two or three days it was difficult to procure even bread or potatoes to eat. On the 19th February (after ten days) we arrived at Porentruy, the first town of Switzerland, where we found ourselves in great danger from not knowing that it was in the possession of the French. We were in the midst of the town, and did not know which way to turn, not even the name of the best town for which we ought to inquire, as our map was only of France, and contained no more of Switzerland than the name of Porentruy. We endeavoured to escape out of the town, and mistook the gate of a large building for one of the city gates. A sentinel at the entrance asked us our business, and should have arrested us, but we evaded answering and walked away, expecting every instant to be seized. In a little time we came to one of the gates, and we duly got out of the town. After walking a few miles we asked for Basle, and were told we were a great distance from it; we directed our course towards it till we got to a town called Delemont. We were at this time more than 20 miles from Basle, and still in the country occupied by the French, when at a poor public-house we met an old Frenchman, who, guessing what we were, and wishing well to our cause, gave us some useful information as to the places we should avoid, and a direction by which in one or two hours we could get into a town under the Swiss Government. We thanked him for his kindness, and by following his directions reached a small Swiss village called Rose Maison. On the 22nd February we arrived at Basle, and were much disappointed at finding that the English agent resided at Berne, 50 miles distant. Except for the French paper money, we had but one guinea remaining, and this was soon expended except a few pence.

We, however, still had our watches, but, being Sunday, we couldn't dispose of them, nor could we obtain any lodgings until the innkeepers were sure of being paid, as our appearance was at that time far from being in our favour. Our only remaining resource was the German Ambassador, through whose interference we got good lodging and other accommodation. We told him precisely how we were situated, and mentioned that we had spent all our money, but neither asked nor expected to receive any pecuniary assistance from him, but merely requested him to procure us a lodging till the following day. He afterwards came to the tavern where we were, and told us that he had ordered the innkeeper to advance to us on his account whatever money we should require to carry us to Berne, and that we might repay him when it would be convenient to us, as he could not think of letting us sell our watches. On the following day we accepted his offer, and took a few Louis-d'or, for which, on our subsequent return from Berne, we had the pleasure of repaying him, and also of presenting him with a letter of thanks from the English Ambassador in return for his attention to us in our distress."

After his release from captivity in France he found, as he expected, that the appointment promised him a year before had been filled up, and he must now seek another.

This he was not slow in finding; a friend of his father's, to whom he applied in London, procuring for him almost immediately an appointment in the H.E.I. Company's Service, and a commission in the King's army, with directions to sail at once for Madras, and on arriving there to choose which of the two commissions he preferred to accept.

Finding that all the best appointments were at that time given to the Company's officers, and that the pay and pension were on an extremely liberal scale, Jeffrey decided for the cadetship, and, on arrival in



GENERAL SIR JEFFREY PRENDERGAST.

Madras, entered at once on his duties as Ensign in the 1st Madras Europeans, later Madras Fusiliers.

From the first Jeffrey's career seems to have been a successful one. It is related of him that when as a young man he was selected to march troops up country to a distant station, and, as usual, a sum of money was placed in his hands for that purpose, he, all unknowing of the "custom of the country" which allowed the commanding officer on these occasions to pocket the surplus, kept a strict account of every rupee spent, and on his return to Madras handed over a considerable sum to the authorities, who were so taken aback at the unheard-of probity of the proceeding that they could hardly believe its reality, and made inquiries to ascertain if this extraordinary young man was in his right senses. Their inquiries appear to have been satisfactorily answered, as from that time he was constantly employed.

With his regiment he soon went on active service, and was engaged in the siege of Seringapatam under Lord Harris, and on the death of the notorious Tippoo Sultan, Jeffrey Prendergast was on the guard placed over the body of the Sultan on the day of the assault, and also during the following night.

In 1804, being then A.D.C. and Military Secretary to Lord Harris, the Governor at Madras, Jeffrey married Elizabeth, daughter of Hew Dalrymple, Esq. (a great-grandson of the first Lord Stair). This family is a very distinguished one. According to Burke, William de Dalrymple in 1450 acquired the lands of Stair-Montgomery in Ayrshire with his wife, Agnes Kennedy; and in 1664 Charles II. created James Dalrymple of Stair a Baronet of Nova Scotia, and in 1690 he was elevated to the peerage by William III. as Baron Glenluce and Stranraer, and Viscount Stair. John, the second Viscount, was created in 1703 Baron Newliston, Glenluce, Stranraer, Viscount Dalrymple and Earl of Stair, by Queen Anne.

This John had a brother, Sir Hew Dalrymple, first Bart. of North Berwick, who married Marion, daughter of Sir Robert Hamilton, in 1682, and by her had six sons and seven daughters, the sixth son being James Dalrymple of Nunraw, who married Margaret Cunningham, and had a son, Hew Dalrymple of Nunraw, who married Dorothea, daughter of Samuel M'Cormick, Esq., and by her had three sons and three daughters, and the third of these, Elizabeth, married, on 30th October 1804, Jeffrey Prendergast. His wife's three brothers—known as the tallest men in the British Army—had been Jeffrey's brothers in arms at Seringapatam.

These three brothers were Kirkby, Samuel, and Hew.

Kirkby was in 74th Highlanders, and in the storming party at Seringapatam, and was supposed to be the gigantic Highlander who cut down Tippoo Sultan at the gate of the fortress. He stood 6 feet 7 inches high, and a fine Indian sword is now in the possession of Colonel Thompson of Iver, Bucks, and is supposed to have been taken from Tippoo by Kirkby on that occasion. Kirkby died in Edinburgh in 1853. Samuel, the second, joined the Madras Artillery in 1789, also served at Seringapatam, and afterwards in the Mahratta war of 1803, being present at the battle of Argaum, 28th November, when he was wounded; he was also in the second Mahratta war at Ashtee, 20th February 1818; siege of Singhur, 2nd March 1818; and the siege and capture of Sholapure, 9th to 15th May 1818; and was nominated C.B. on 14th October 1818. He died 12th May 1821, aged forty-nine, and a cenotaph which stands at the east corner of the artillery parade ground at St. Thomas' Mount, near Madras, was erected to his memory by his brother officers "in commemoration of his valuable services, and the esteem in which he was held in his public character, and as a member of the Regiment of Artillery, in which he was universally respected and beloved."

The third was Hew, who first joined the 76th Regi-

ment in 1790, but was transferred in 1797 to the 19th Regiment, and with a part of his regiment served at Seringapatam. He was after promoted captain in Colonel Joseph Champayne's Regiment, raised for service in Ceylon, which after became the Ceylon Rifles. He became Major, 12th January 1805, and retired 8th August 1807. He adopted a Club life in London. He was an excellent player at whist and picquet, and is frequently mentioned in *Memoir of George Elers, 12th Regiment*, edited by Lord Monson and G. Leveson-Gower (1902).

Elers in his diary, speaking of Hew Dalrymple, mentions "some years after arrival in England and at Grahams' Club, he used to play with the celebrated Major Aubrey. The present (then) Marquis of Hertford matched Dalrymple against Aubrey, and won of Aubrey £40,000, and Dalrymple won £10,000."

He died on 11th September 1846, aged seventy-four, and is buried at North Berwick.

Apropos of these three gallant brothers, there is an amusing story in the family that an uncle of theirs in Scotland composed the following toast in their honour, which was duly recited every night over the punch bowl:—

Here's to Hew and Sam and Kirkby,
And may they make Tippoo's Army to fly;
Here's to Kirkby, Hew, and Sam,
And may they take Seringapatam!
Here's to Kirkby, Sam, and Hew,
We'll drink their health till we are fou!

"We know that the good wishes expressed in the first and second couplets were fulfilled, and trust that the intemperate promise of the third was never acted upon!"

During the whole of Sir Jeffrey's forty years' service in India, he never returned to Europe, spending two of his furloughs at the Cape, and one in China. He continually held good appointments, and for many

years before he went home in 1835 was Military Auditor-General of Madras.

Sir Jeffrey, having paid his promised visit to France to renew the acquaintance he made with it in 1794-95—when perforce he had to travel on foot right across France from Brest to Switzerland, and so to Basle and Berne—settled down in Brighton, where he resided in Brunswick Square. He came home as a Colonel, but some two years after was promoted to Major-General, 10th January 1837, and was in 1840 Colonel of the 39th Madras N.I.

By his wife, Elizabeth Dalrymple, he had four sons and a daughter—(1) Harris, (2) Thomas, (3) John Dalrymple, and (4) William Grant; (1) Dorothea.

His second son, Thomas, born 1807, was the father of Hew Lindsay Prendergast, and Harry North Dalrymple Prendergast, the subject of this memoir.

Thomas Prendergast was educated at Harrow School, and in 1823-25 formed a prominent member of the Harrow Eleven, and excelled in the athletic pursuits of the school. In 1825 he went to the H.E.I. Company's College at Haileybury, and proceeded to the Madras Presidency in 1827. He held many Civil appointments, and for about ten years was Collector and Magistrate of Rajahmundry in the Godavery district—where he was coadjutor with the celebrated General Sir Arthur Cotton, R.E., K.C.S.I., in the construction of the Grand Godavery Anicut (Dam) and the successful irrigation works in connection with it.

He returned to England in 1857, and finally retired from the service in 1859, when he settled at Cheltenham, where, despite the affliction of total blindness which shortly after befell him, he devoted himself to the literary work by which he will long be remembered, the improvement and popularization of what is called the "Mastery" system of learning languages. The essence of this system, from which he had himself profited in acquiring his own intimate knowledge of the Madras



THOMAS PRENDERGAST, M.C.S.

vernaculars, Tamil and Telugu, consisted in simply learning by frequent repetition conversational sentences. Mr. Prendergast made this system his own by the labour he devoted to it and by the vigorous manner in which he elaborated it in detail. Of his success it is enough to say that the volume in which he explained his system, *Mastery of Languages*, has passed through four editions, and that his series of manuals in French and German, Spanish, Latin, Hebrew, etc., have all had to be reprinted. From Cheltenham he carried on (with the assistance of his Secretary, Mr. Strugnell) constant correspondence on the mastery of languages with almost all civilized countries, and to within a few days of his lamented decease in 1886.

Of pleasing, manly, cultivated manners, handsome, erect carriage and active habits, he was well known in Cheltenham, meeting sincere sympathy on account of his blindness, even from those personally unacquainted with him. He loved children and youth, and was beloved by them in return. A genial, ever cheerful disposition rendered his own existence singularly happy, as well as that of those privileged to participate for many years devotedly and lovingly in his domestic hours. It may be added that real friends from divers places earnestly gathered to show respect at his funeral; and from Cheltenham College, near to which he resided (Meldon Lodge), the Prefects came of their own accord to represent, at the interment at the cemetery two miles distant, the hundreds of the Juniors.

His death took place on 14th November 1886, about a year after his son, Sir Harry Prendergast, had captured Mandalay and deported King Thebaw.

Not long after reaching India he had married, in 1827, Caroline Lucy, daughter of Marton Dalrymple, Esq.

Marton was the son of William Dalrymple, an officer of the army, who married Diana, daughter of Rigby Molyneux, Esq., by Mary, daughter of Oliver Marton,

Esq., of Capernwray. William was the second son of Sir Wm. Dalrymple, third baronet of Courland, grandson of first baronet Sir James Dalrymple of Borthwick Castle, Midlothian. Sir James was second son of first Viscount Stair, so that Sir Harry Prendergast's mother and grandmother were in the relation of third cousins once removed.

Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Prendergast had two sons, Hew Lindsay, born 29th April 1831, and Harry North Dalrymple, born 15th October 1834. Their mother died in 1839, when her sons were eight and five respectively, and the boys were sent home to the care of their grandfather and his wife at Brighton.

After some years they were sent to a private school at Cheam in Surrey, and remained there till the close of 1848, spending their holidays with their grandfather, Sir Jeffrey, at Brunswick Square, Brighton.

In February 1849 Hew proceeded to Addiscombe College, and Harry was transferred to Brighton College.

Hew had a successful career at Addiscombe, and in December 1850 left with a commission in the Engineers, his contemporaries being Stanton, Hichens, Geneste, and Hovenden, who all joined the Bengal Engineers, while Hew Prendergast alone went to Madras. Many cadets, afterwards highly distinguished, were with him at Addiscombe—among them five V.C.'s—Wm. Trevor, D. Macintyre, M'Neil, Lord Roberts, and Harrington. Others celebrated in various ways were Montgomerie as a surveyor; Pat Stewart in Persian Telegraphs; Sir Æneas Perkins and Sir B. Gordon were K.C.B.'s, and the former was recommended for the V.C., while altogether seventeen were decorated by Her Majesty.

Harry, after remaining at Brighton College for some years, went to Addiscombe, August 1852, when nearly eighteen, and after a distinguished career there left also with a commission in the Engineers; and, after going through the usual course at Chatham, proceeded to the Madras Presidency.

Ten engineers passed out at the same time as Prendergast, and of them he was the eighth. Many of his companions were celebrated in after years, about twenty being decorated by the Queen. Champain; Jas. Hills-Johnes, V.C.; John Hills, K.C.B.; Thackeray, V.C.; Delafosse, C.B., who escaped in 1857 from Cawnpore, and was recommended for the V.C.; Chas. Goodfellow, V.C.; Charles Nairne, Cin.C., Bombay; and Bernard, K.C.S.I., and Pritchard, K.C.I.E.—the two latter of whom, after leaving Addiscombe, proceeded to Haileybury, and both attained high positions.

When at Addiscombe, Harry Prendergast was greatly distinguished in athletics, and was in every way greatly liked and popular among his companions. At the sports he was chiefly remarkable for hurdle racing, and in fencing and singlestick. In his "green" term he won the hurdle race open to his term, and he entered for the singlestick prize. In his "brown" term he was second in a heat for hurdle race, also second in a flat race with hurdles, but was only second in his term hurdle race, being defeated by David Ward for the first place. In his "Young Cadet" term I cannot find his name amongst the entries for the various races on the card of 10th September 1853, so I presume he was ill at the time and unable to compete. In his "Old Cadet" term he, however, came out very strong, and succeeded in carrying off the Winner's Prize (a telescope), which was adjudged to the cadet who obtained the greatest number of marks (each contest having a numerical value attached to it, in proportion to its importance). He was run very close for this by C. Griffith (lately Major-General C. Griffith of Bombay Army), as both Griffith and he had exactly the same number of marks. Griffith was a most excellent runner, and carried off many of the races, but as Prendergast had won his marks in a greater variety of events, the judges presented the prize to him. The cadets of the term, in consideration of the ill-fortune of Griffith in being deprived of

the prize in this way, presented him with a handsome watch-chain and seal, which Major-General Griffith had still in his possession at the time of his death a few months since.

Sir Edward Thackeray has written to me :

“Harry Prendergast at Addiscombe was a splendid athlete and runner, and won many prizes at the biennial sports and races. On the Derby Day carriages and vehicles of all sorts and conditions from the spick and span four-in-hand to the costermonger’s cart on their way to Epsom Downs, passed along the road near the college by Mother Rose’s Corner. The conduct of some of the roughs seated in the carts was of the worst kind, and they were in the habit of insulting the cadets, occasionally challenging them to come out and fight in the road. It was accordingly arranged by the cadets to appoint a champion, and Harry Prendergast was unanimously selected for this arduous post, owing to his skill and proficiency in boxing. On the next Epsom Day a large number of cadets assembled at the corner. Soon the carriages, carts, etc., of every description, began to appear, the usual rough slang commenced, and then a burly ragamuffin in one of the carts challenged the cadets in the usual way. Prendergast at once sprang into the road, and after a few seconds promptly floored his antagonist, to the utter discomfiture of the roughs, and amid the cheers of his fellow cadets.”

“Prendergast,” another friend writes, “was taken very early into the Addiscombe Cricket Eleven. He was a most excellent bowler with a very peculiar action, very characteristic of his dashing disposition, his head downwards on his breast, arms and legs all in great action, and a very swift delivery. At that time the arm was not allowed to be raised above the level of the shoulders, so that the necessarily wider action of the arm gave the impression of great power and determination. I don’t think he was much of a bat, or if he

was, he must have been in Jessop's line ; but I am positive about his being a tip-top swift bowler." " My impression of him at Addiscombe and Chatham is that of a brave dashing fellow, ready to risk his life in any good cause, and without a moment's hesitation." Another friend in his term at Addiscombe writes of him as "'dear old Prendergast.' I know no officer more worthy of the distinction he won. He was a 'manly' man, first class in all sports, and one who was ever ready to give advice or help under all circumstances, and the Royal Engineers have lost in him one of their best and most distinguished officers."

At Chatham he became even more proficient in boxing, fencing, and rowing. One of his friends remarks, " Here we often boxed together, and I remember well on one occasion his giving me one very nasty one on the nose."

He joined the Royal Engineers establishment with the rank of Local and Temporary Ensign in September 1854, and amongst his contemporaries were Generals Festing, F.R.S. ; Charles Goodfellow, V.C. ; Sir Robert Grant, K.C.B. ; Sir R. Harrison, K.C.B. ; J. H. Hewett, C.M.G. ; Sir John Hills, K.C.B. ; Sir T. Maitland, K.C.B. ; Malcolm, C.B. ; R. C. B. Pemberton, C.B., C.S.I. ; Sir R. M. Smith, K.C.M.G. ; Trevor, C.S.I. ; J. Bonus ; Webber, C.B. ; Lonsdale Hale ; Sir E. T. Thackeray, V.C., K.C.B. ; Charles Luard ; David Ward Forbes, C.B. ; J. G. Lindsay ; the late Sir P. Sketchly ; Sir John Bateman-Champain, K.C.M.G. ; Percy Smith Fulford ; Major Tulloch, C.B. ; and many others not unknown to fame.

Having gone through the usual courses of drill, engineering and survey at Chatham—during about twenty months—and having been allowed some three months of leisure, he left for Madras, and landed there in October 1856, when twenty-two years of age. At this time Colonel Sir Arthur Cotton was the Commandant of Madras Engineers, and a month after his arrival Prendergast became Acting Adjutant.

The colonel (the eminent engineer of Madras Irrigation Works) was absorbed in engineering projects, so the officer of suitable rank who could, with least inconvenience, be spared from the Public Works Department, was selected as commanding engineer of Havelock's Division of the Persian Expeditionary Force—and when Prendergast expressed his desire to go, the colonel said, "Certainly! You are no good!" "He qualified the expression forty years later by saying that he only meant that I had no experience in irrigation works."

On the reorganization of the Public Works Department, Prendergast was posted to the Godavery Division, but on the outbreak of the Persian war he was transferred to the sappers and miners, and joined the B Company at Dowlaishwaram, when it embarked for active service at Coconada.

CHAPTER II

PERSIAN WAR

ON the 1st November 1856 a declaration of war was issued by the Governor-General of India against Persia—orders having been sent out for the dispatch of an expedition to the Persian Gulf towards the close of September.

Major-General Stalker, C.B., in command of the 1st Division occupied Bushire. Shortly after the fall of Bushire, Major-General Sir James Outram assumed the command, but he did not land till the latter part of January 1857. At this time the Persians were entrenched at Borasjun, some 48 miles from Bushire. On the 3rd February our force began its march to Charkota and 14 miles farther, when it was found the enemy had retreated. On the 5th we captured their entrenched camp. After a halt of two days our return march was commenced at midnight. An attack was made on our rear guard, the troops were halted, and formed to protect the baggage. Four of the enemy's guns opened on the column, while it was too dark to capture them. At daybreak the Persian army was found drawn up in order of battle—but by ten o'clock they were completely defeated. This was the battle of Khooshab, where the 3rd Bombay Cavalry made their celebrated charge on a Persian square, and Moore and Malcolmson earned their V.C. The troops bivouacked for the day on the field of battle, and at night accomplished a march of 20 miles over a country rendered almost impassable by the heavy rain which

fell incessantly. After a rest of six hours the greater part of the infantry continued their march to Bushire, which they reached before midnight, thus performing another most arduous march of 44 miles under incessant rain, besides fighting and defeating the enemy during its progress, within the short period of fifty hours. Five strong redoubts were now constructed at Bushire, the four in front sweeping the width of the isthmus, and that in rear securing communication with the town.

On these being completed Sir James Outram arranged that General Stalker should remain in command at Bushire with two field batteries mountain train, the cavalry of 2nd Division, three companies of H.M. 64th and 78th, the 4th Rifles, 20th N.I., 4th Baluch Battalion, about 3000 men ; while Sir James Outram proceeded himself with the remaining 4000 men against Mohumera, some 200 miles from Bushire, at the head of the Persian Gulf on the Shat-ul-Arab River. For some months past the Persians had been strengthening their position at Mohumera ; batteries had been erected of great strength, of solid earth 20 feet thick and 18 feet high, with casemated embrasures on the north and south points of the banks of the Karoon and Shat-ul-Arab where the two rivers join. The B Company Madras Sappers did not reach Bushire till March, when it was attached to Havelock's division of the force. The officers of the company were Major A. Boileau, commanding, Captain P. A. Browne, Lieut. Fox, 2nd Lieuts. Prendergast and H. Gordon, with Surgeon Lowe. They proceeded to Mohumera on board the Indian Navy s.s. *Victoria*, up the Shat-ul-Arab River to within three miles of the south battery of Mohumera.

“Mohumera was a walled town situate on the north bank of the Hafar Canal, which joins the river Karoon to the Shat-ul-Arab ; at the angles formed by the meeting of the Hafar and Shat-ul-Arab there were strong redoubts, called the North and South Forts ;

there were batteries and earthworks on both sides of the Hafar, and batteries along the left bank of the Shat-ul-Arab, south of the Hafar, though the main body of the Persians was concentrated on a plain north-west of the town of Mohumera. As the Shat-ul-Arab marks the frontier between Persia and Turkey, the Turkish or right bank was neutral and unfortified. The river is about 1200 yards in width, and opposite the North Fort a fine stream fringed by groves of date palms. On the night of the 24th March, Major Boileau and other staff officers reconnoitred the enemy's position, especially with a view to ascertain if it was possible to establish batteries on the island of Dubhee, west of the Northern Battery. In this reconnaissance the engineer officers approached the batteries within 300 yards in a small canoe, and a raft with two 8-pr. and two 5-pr. mortars was established behind a low swampy island in mid-stream, and fronting the enemy's north and most powerful battery.

"The cool daring of the men who placed, and the little band of artillery who remained on the raft for several hours of darkness, in the middle of a rapid river, without means of retreat, and certain destruction staring them in the face should the enemy, within but a few hundred yards, be aroused to the fact of their presence, requires no commendation. The simple narration of the event as it occurred is sufficient. At daybreak on the 26th the mortars from this raft opened fire, and the first shell killed and wounded (it was afterwards learnt) eleven of the enemy who were at prayers at the moment, and in great consternation at not being able for some minutes to discover whence the missiles came. On this morning at daybreak the British fleet advanced in single column line ahead,—the shore batteries opened on the vessels as they approached; each of the fighting vessels took station opposite a battery; the roar of the artillery was occasionally broken by the thunder of an exploded magazine, for the positions of the magazines,

which were not protected, were known to the British artillerists. The sappers had been transferred to the *Hugh Lindsay*, the worst armed of the vessels that had the honour to be treated as men-of-war. She only carried light carronades, these served by H.M. 64th Regiment, and the sappers engaged two Persian batteries so effectually as to put the gunners to flight. After a time the fire from the shore batteries was subdued, and the transports were able to pass the forts, and land the troops at 11 a.m. in the date groves north of the North Fort. By 2 p.m. all the infantry with a field battery and 50 Sind Horse were on shore, and the General resolved to advance. The ground was so intersected by water channels that infantry could move but slowly, and artillery could not move at all till bridges had been made for them by the sappers. These bridges consisted of trees felled on both sides of the channel, with a large Arab boat as a central support. The enemy fled precipitately after exploding their largest magazine, leaving their huts, baggage, stores, several magazines of ammunition and 16 guns behind. The want of cavalry prevented pursuit, but the party of Sind Horse followed them up for some distance, and came up with their rear guard retiring in good order, but the road was strewn with property.

“The loss of the Persians was 300 killed, among whom was a Brigadier Agha-Jan-Khan, who fell in the northern battery. The work of the Madras Sappers was extremely heavy. Batteries were destroyed, roads made, landing stages constructed, streams dammed or turned, and huts erected.

“The Persians had the odds greatly in their favour, and could hardly expect to meet us on better terms, yet they disgracefully fled as soon as they were attacked. Every tent was left standing, but just previously to their departure they blew up their reserve ammunition. On the 27th, after following the track of the enemy for



Faithfully yours
W. H. T. W.

some miles, the troops marched back to Mohumera, took possession of the town, and occupied the camps. The strength of the batteries was found to be very great, skilfully placed and constructed, nothing but stout hearts within was required to have made their capture a matter of bloody price to the victors; happily for us these were wanting."

Sir James Outram resolved to send an expedition up the Karoon to Ahwaz. It left on 29th March, and reached Ahwaz on 1st April. It was most completely successful, but as the sappers, being engaged at Mohumera, did not accompany the force, no details need be given.

The expedition returned on 4th April. On that day news arrived that peace had been concluded at Paris on the 4th March. The force was shortly broken up, and the sappers returned from Mohumera to Bombay in a sailing vessel; transports in those days were not the floating palaces that we use to-day. The only cabin for the military officers was also used as a store place for onions, no one could sleep in it, and one of the most dispiriting experiences of the life of most men on board the *Hibernia* was lying becalmed in the Persian Gulf in intense heat, with the white snowy mountains between Bushire and Shiraz in sight, and cholera amongst the men. When at last a breeze springing up, cholera left the ship, and the voyage to Bombay was pleasant enough.

Sir James Outram was greatly pleased with the services of the sappers, and wrote: "His (Major Boileau's) and their services were conspicuous in the zeal and activity they displayed in filling ditches, preparing bridges, etc., to facilitate the landing and advance of the troops at Mohumera, and subsequent incessant labours they were exposed to during our occupation of Mohumera, and I consider they deserve special notice and warm commendation for the alacrity with which they volunteered for foreign service, though

they had only very lately rejoined their families, after a separation of nearly five years of successive absences on field service.

“Although sent back to India, this devoted body of soldiers, instead of being allowed to join their families in Madras Presidency, had, I understand, been attached to the column under General Woodburn, intended for the relief of Mhow, with which they are now employed, having displayed, I am told, the utmost cheerfulness and alacrity when ordered on this duty.”

As a matter of fact the B Company *volunteered* for the duty mentioned.

“At Mohumera we messed with the Bombay Engineers—Playfair, W. Goodfellow, H. Hancock, J. le Mesurier, John Hills.

“The Rev. W. Hermann Schwabe, B.A., who had been on board the *Victoria* with us, also messed with them. The order for non-combatants to go on board the hospital ship, the night before the battle of Mohumera, greatly disturbed the good chaplain, and we irresponsible youngsters counselled him to stay where he was, saying that he would be better employed on a fighting ship than he could be elsewhere, so he fought at Mohumera on the *Victoria*, which was aground opposite the North Fort, and was more battered than any other ship in the fleet. His delight was great when the Persians got the range, and round shot came crashing through the bulwarks. ‘Hurrah! they’ve got our range now,’ he cried, and he and his old Mussulman butler employed themselves in replacing the bales of hay when they were knocked down by the enemy’s fire; and as the parson was a big, powerful man, he was very useful in this way. When the *Victoria* afterwards ran in nearer the shore, His Reverence, though he would not fire himself, was able to direct the fire of others upon skirmishers and groups of Persians.

“The Revs. Strickland and Schwabe served at the siege of Mooltan, in Persia, and were afterwards our

comrades in Central India ; both were remarkable for personal courage.

• “ Captain Henry Clerk told me that the day they arrived at the British camp during the Siege of Chanderi, he took Mr. Schwabe to see the siege works ; as they crossed an open space near the Fort of Chanderi the fire was so hot that Clerk threw himself on the ground to avoid the bullets ; to his disgust Mr. Schwabe walked quietly on with his cheroot in his mouth, just looking down at the prostrate cavalry officer. I would not mention the incident, if Clerk had not been one of the bravest men I ever met, and had he not told the tale to laud the pluck of the chaplain.”

“ When I was wounded at Jhansi in 1858, I had been taken off my horse, and laid in a dhooly very much exhausted, the chaplain bustled towards me, said a few kind and friendly words, assured me he had not been to the front (the stray bullets were whizzing about close to us), put a blanket under my head, and passed on into the fray in which he delighted.”

“ As we marched from Mhow it was necessary to move towards Mehidpore where part of the Malwa Contingent had joined the rebels that came to attack Colonel Turnbull, who commanded the contingent. The Irregular Cavalry of Brigadier Stewart's force made a forced march and came upon a body of the enemy at Rawul. Clerk was out with his men, and riding from picquet to picquet was warned to avoid a certain gap in a hedge because one of the enemy had hit every man who had passed that way. Clerk asked, ‘ Where is he ? ’ and rode straight for the fellow. A shower of rain had just come on, and wetted the powder of his matchlock, and Clerk speared him as he stood trying to get off the piece. On that same day at Rawul, Clerk rode up to a group of cavalry who were kept at bay by a fine rohilla, who covered with his carbine any one who seemed anxious to approach him. Clerk charged at him with his spear, but the rohilla fired

when Clerk was close to him ; fortunately his fine Arab charger threw up his head, and was killed by the ball lodging in his forehead ; Clerk, however, was uninjured, but the rohilla never more asked for water ! Henry Clerk was an officer of 8th Madras N.I., but was serving in the Hyderabad Contingent.”

CHAPTER III

INDIAN MUTINY CAMPAIGNS

It was on 1st June 1857 that the B Company of the Madras Sappers disembarked at Bombay on its return from service in Persia, and a few days after Major Boileau wrote to the Adjutant-General, Bombay Army, asking that the company might be attached to the force about to be sent from Poona against the mutineers, and he and his sappers received the "thanks of the Government for the readiness with which they have volunteered their services."

"News that the mutiny of the Bengal Army had broken out had lately reached Bombay, every hour news of defection and disaster arrived; to a stranger in Bombay, terror amounting almost to panic seemed to pervade the bazaar. Each day the news became worse and worse."

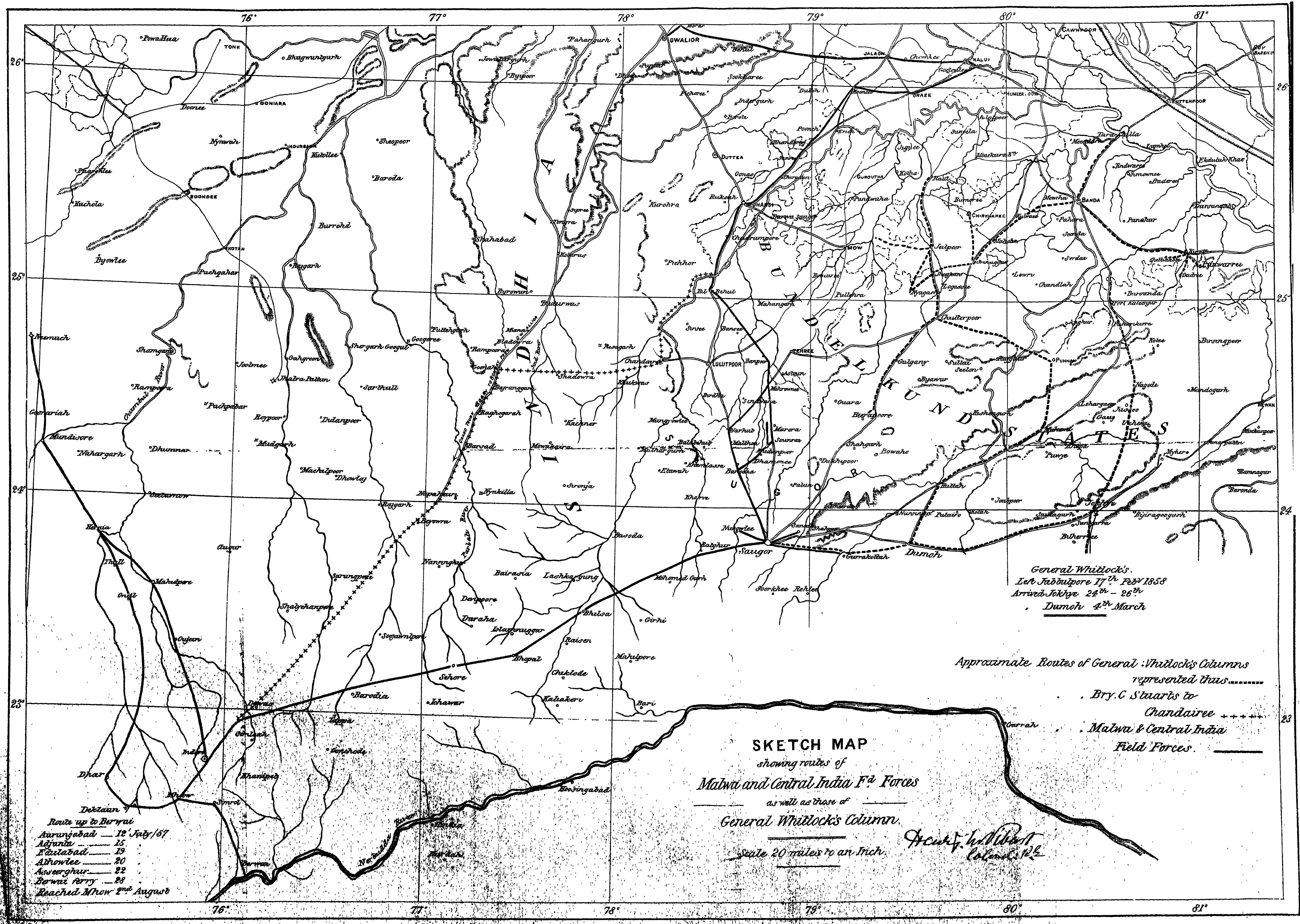
In a few days B Company was under orders to join Major-General Woodburn's column at Aurungabad in the Deccan, and on the 16th June they proceeded there by rail and road, and joined the Deccan Field Force on 5th July. The 1st Regiment Hyderabad Cavalry had misbehaved itself about the middle of June, having declared their refusal to march out of the Hyderabad territory, or fight against men of their own religion. A requisition for aid was sent to Major-General Woodburn. The General marched at once with H.M. 16th Dragoons, a field battery, and 28 Bombay N.I., reaching Aurungabad on 23rd June by forced marches. The regiment was dispersed, many prisoners were taken,

who were tried, and the morning after the arrival of B Company of sappers a general parade was ordered to witness the execution by blowing from guns and by musketry of some of the mutineers.

The force left Aurungabad on 12th July under the command of Brigadier-General C. Stewart (General Woodburn, C.B., having been forced by ill-health to resign his command), and having crossed the rivers Poornah, Taptee, and Nerbudda, relieved Asseerghur on the 23rd, and Mhow on the 2nd August, the sappers having had frequent employment by the way, in making roads passable and in ramping the banks of rivers and streams. The monsoon broke on 2nd August, and it was impossible to march farther, so the sappers were employed in adding defensive strength to the post at Mhow. It was not until the 20th October that the ground was dry enough to permit of the troops moving ; but on that day a small force marched towards Dhar, 30 miles distant. The force consisted of the 86th Regiment, Woolcoombe's battery, some Hyderabad Cavalry, and a squadron of 14th Light Dragoons, with half B Company of sappers under Lieut. Fox ; the whole commanded by Major Keane, while Prendergast acted as Brigade Major.

He thus describes their proceedings :

“Major Keane's orders were to follow the track towards Dhar, and halt on rising ground a mile east of the fort, till the headquarters of the force should arrive on his left. Very soon after the detachment had reached its ground on the morning of the 22nd, the enemy were seen to be issuing from the fort, and the sound of artillery fire was distinctly heard at a probable distance of $2\frac{1}{4}$ or 3 miles to the major's left rear.” Prendergast was the only mounted staff officer at this time with the detachment ; and, having ridden to the front, was able to report that the enemy were advancing, and that they probably wished to draw the British troops under the fire of the fort guns, and asked for orders



General Whitlock's.
Left Jabalpur 17th Feb 1858
Arrived Jhikhye 24th - 26th
Dumoh 4th March

Approximate Routes of General Whitlock's Columns
represented thus
Bry. C. Stuart's to
Chandairee
Malwa & Central India
Field Forces.

SKETCH MAP
showing routes of
Malwa and Central India F^d Forces
as well as those of
General Whitlock's Column.

Scale 20 miles to an inch.

Henry H. Wilson
Feb 1858

Route up to Berwari
Aurangabad — 18 July/57
Adjan — 15
Edulabad — 19
Athowlee — 20
Aswerghur — 22
Berwari Ferry — 28
Reached Mhow 2nd August

for the formation of the detachment which was still in column of route, but Major Keane insisted that he was not going to fight, and that his orders were to remain where he was till the brigadier should take ground on his left. Prendergast then rode forward to Captain Hungerford, R.A., and Sutherland Orr of Hyderabad contingent, who were studying the ground between the detachment and the fort. They were stern officers of tried gallantry, and at once emphatically declared, "He must fight," and went with the subaltern to assure the commanding officer of the necessity for forming for action—instantly the word was given and the troops deployed. The Irregular Cavalry were unnecessarily exposed to the fire of the enemy's infantry and skirmishers, so its commandant, after having lost a valuable officer, took his regiment into the second line. The officer commanding the force, not understanding the movement, sent Prendergast with orders to the British infantry, and the Madras Sappers to charge the native infantry if they misbehaved, and also to tell the dragoons to charge the native cavalry if they were treacherous, and to the artillery to fire on any troops that might join the enemy. Fortunately all the troops conducted themselves admirably, the enemy's infantry were driven back, and when his cavalry attempted to turn the right flank and attack the British baggage guard, the dragoons and native cavalry raced into action against them and drove them off. Soon afterwards the headquarters of the brigade approached Dhar, the cavalry with the brigade charged the enemy's guns, and Major Keane's detachment was ordered to close to the left; the rebels retired to Dhar, and the Malwa field force encamped on the field of the battle.

"One of the most gallant men wounded on that day was a native officer of the Hyderabad Contingent Cavalry. Seeing him performing prodigies of valour, one of his men cried out, 'Wah ! Wah ! Subadar Sahib !' (Bravo ! my captain) ; on this a fine young fellow, the

enemy's leader, turned and gave him a terrible blow with his sabre, severing his thick turban, and cutting off a piece of his skull as large as half a crown, but the old officer, after this even, continued to ride with his regiment all the afternoon, and when the brigadier visited him in the evening promised to be out with his squadron before a month had elapsed, and kept his word! This affair was the prelude to the Siege of Dhar, a very interesting operation." It lasted ten days.

"The fort was built on a small hill, its walls of rubble masonry faced with reddish hewn stone, the parapets were crenelated and loopholed; the curtains were provided with flank defences from round and square towers, and the gateway was protected by intricate outworks as is usual in India. The north and part of the western sides of the fort were protected by a large lake. The British attack was directed against the S.W. angle of the fort. The weather was delightful, the scenery charming, the excitement invigorating to the young engineer who, at the age of twenty-three, was second in seniority of the Engineers during the siege, but the work was very hard, one tour of duty lasting 42 hours! Where the attack was made the walls were 34 feet high. We erected four sandbag batteries on the ridge west of the fort, the breaching battery being 263 yards from the wall.

"The sappers behaved splendidly in mending the embrasures in broad daylight when the enemy's fire was so hot that the artillery men could not serve the guns, and by their pluck, good humour, and unceasing labour in the trenches, gained golden opinions in the force.

"There was a hearty good fellowship among the officers of all arms, and I shall never forget the pleasant suppers at the sappers' mess, which was only a servants' tent close to the breaching battery, where grilled bones were served at midnight to the music of the salvoes

from the breaching guns, and replies from the fort. The work in the trenches was very hard during the ten days and nights of the siege, and the responsibility was great as I was second in seniority of the Engineers, but these were compensated for by the capture of the fort and sweetened by the receipt of £300 prize money—though I was only a second lieutenant.

“The point selected for attack was the very best possible, and the siege works were practically and admirably carried out. Major A. Boileau was the commanding engineer. On the 27th the village was fired at night by Major Woolcombe, Lieuts. Strutt and B. Christie, with some gunners, and Lieut. Fenwick and a company of 25 Bombay N.I.—this was successfully accomplished; but in returning Christie lost his way, and having to swim the tank was fired on by his own men, and nearly lost his life, but fortunately called out in time, ‘Don’t shoot me!’ and finally crossed in safety.

“Corporals Hoskins and Clarke of the sappers examined the breach in broad moonlight on the 31st, at a time when there was every reason to suppose they would be fired on at every step, and almost certainly shot on the breach. On the 31st the breach was reported practicable, and orders were issued for storming the fort before daybreak. The storming party was to consist of

60 of 25 Bombay N.I.	Captain Little
30 of 86th	Lieut. Henry
50 Madras Sappers	Captain Browne

but the enemy escaped during the night.”

The fort was found deserted, and Dhar was occupied without any further opposition. Brigadier Stewart in his dispatch brought to notice the services of Major Boileau, and the officers and men of the Madras Engineers and Sappers, and trusted that Corporals Hoskins and Clarke would be rewarded for their gallantry. (This dispatch is omitted from Forrest’s Selection of State

Papers) 1857-58, and it should certainly have had a place in the official records.)

Prendergast relates the following curious tale regarding Captain Henry Clerk and his barber. "While the Malwa field force lay at Mhow during the rains, Henry Clerk, second in command of the 3rd Hyderabad Contingent Cavalry, joined the sappers' mess; he had been at Ellichpoor on detachment, having returned from England not long before. He joined at Ellichpoor at the commencement of the Dassara; the barber waited on him at once, and begged to be employed. Clerk, who wore a beard, kindly allowed him to join his establishment. The man was much excited during the religious feast, Clerk was the only European in Ellichpoor, and every night the strange barber marched about his tent the whole night with his sword drawn, watching over his sleeping master. The barber was a favourite with us on account of the great care he took of his master. He accompanied Clerk into the field, and after every fight did his share of the plundering; he used to ride a roan Mahratta pony belonging to Clerk, and soon required a baggage animal for his goods. Clerk had warned him against killing country folk and villagers, but the gallant barber vowed that he had taken everything in fair fight. At last, on the evening following an engagement, Clerk saw the barber go deliberately to a stranger, order him to lay down his arms, and when he did so, attack and kill him with a hog spear. Clerk was so angry that he struck the barber, and has never seen him since!"

On the 8th November the B Company of sappers marched from Dhar, with the Malwa Field Force under Brigadier-General Stewart for Mundisore.

"In days when European clerks were scarce, and no native could be trusted, Colonel (afterwards Sir Henry) Durand, the Governor-General's Agent in Central India, who marched with the Field Force, wanted assistance with his correspondence, and I had the good



MAJOR-GEN. SIR HENRY M. DURAND, K.C.S.I., C.B., R.E.

fortune to be told off to copy dispatches, and make myself useful; the work was full of interest, and the problems brought for solution before the colonel were momentous. Different states were crying for succour, and letters, public and private, were searched to obtain any possible light on the subjects. Colonel Durand was always calm and deliberate, and his judgment was remarkable, hence the campaign was carried not only to a satisfactory issue, but also in the best possible way, both from a political and a military point of view. Of course the correspondence was strictly confidential; an officer who had dominion over me asked me what I was doing all day, to which I replied that 'I only copied correspondence and tried to save the colonel trouble.' 'As how?' said my interrogator. 'Just ordering his boots and writing to his tailor, etc.' 'I cannot have an engineer officer wasting his time in private correspondence,' and away he went to the great political official with his complaint, at which Colonel Durand was much amused when it occurred to him that an attempt had been made to pump me! It was very delightful to a youngster to know the meaning of orders when the dear brigadier himself was not always fully informed, and the excitement of the war was greatly enhanced by knowledge of how the game was being played.

"An excellent map of the country round Mundisore which I had brought with me, and which no one else possessed, was of great value to the authorities, and brought me to notice.

"On the same day the force left Dhar, leaving the once stately fort a heap of ruins and the palace and gates burning, a large body of Valaitus attacked the station of Mehidpore, garrisoned by a portion of the Malwa Contingent commanded by Major G. Timins. The majority of the infantry refused to attack when led by their officers; only a portion of the artillery stood to their guns, and at noon the rebels attacked

and took them. The Contingent troops then fled, and their officers were forced to escape, escorted by a faithful band of the 3rd Cavalry. On the 9th they arrived in our camp.

"The most interesting event on the march was the arrival of Major Timins and his adjutant, Lieutenant G. Dysart, and the subsequent forced march of the cavalry to Rawul under Orr, where they found and defeated a strong body of the enemy. Dysart, the adjutant, was a fine fellow. His regiment, the 23rd Bombay N.I., mutinied at Mhow; after that, the commandant of the Malwa Bheel Corps wanted an adjutant, and sent to offer the appointment to the 23rd. No one senior to him wanted it, so Dysart, the junior subaltern, gladly accepted it. Indore, which was in a state of insurrection, lay between Mhow and Mehidpore, but the sub marched up without escort. At one village the inhabitants looked to their arms, and lighted the matches of their matchlocks as he approached, but Dysart rode up and lighted his cheroot from a match lighted with a view to shooting him. The men were so astonished that not a shot was fired at him. A number of the men of the Malwa Bheel Corps came into camp, and resumed their duties under Dysart.

"On the night of the 9th, Major Orr with 337 sabres drawn from the 1st, 3rd, and 4th Regiments of Hyderabad Cavalry started for Mehidpore. On the morning of the 12th, after a march of 60 miles, Orr reached Mehidpore—found it evacuated; the enemy having taken with them two 12-prs., four 9-prs., and 60 cart-loads of ammunition and plunder.

"Orr, after watering and feeding his horses, set forth in pursuit, and after a ride of 12 miles came in touch with their rearguard at Rawul and at once attacked them. After some hard and desperate fighting, which continued till dark, the enemy vanished, leaving all their guns with their ammunition; and 150 rebels

lay dead on the field. The British loss was 100 killed and wounded.

“On the 14th, Durand received a dispatch from Orr, informing him of the defeat of the mutineers at Rawul, which was highly important; first, on account of the success gained, and also because it proved the loyalty and gallantry of the Hyderabad Contingent.

“Durand continued his march to Mundisore as fast as roads would permit, and on the 19th he was at Hernia on the banks of the Chumbul.

“At Rawul, Captain S—— was shot, and the bullet carried with it a quantity of his clothing and part of his watch chain into his stomach. He told me that the probing and fishing about inside him for what the doctors term ‘foreign matters’ was extremely painful, and that the surgeons were quite angry with him because he did not know how many links there were to his watch chain. Since then I have always written in my notebook (and recommended others to do the same) the number of links in my watch chain. I have eight long links and ten short ones, so if I get shot, and six long links and eight short ones are left outside me, and two long and two short links have been extracted from the wound, I need not trouble the surgeon to look for more.

“To cross the Chumbul, even without opposition, was no light matter, the banks were rugged and almost perpendicular, the stream rapid and deep, and its bed broken by enormous boulders of basalt. The sappers cut a road down the bank for the artillery, and then the passage began, and the crossing of the force with its ammunition and baggage occupied nearly the whole of the day. On the morning of the 21st the column encamped 4 miles south of Mundisore.

“On the 20th November 1857, I rode with Captain H. O. Mayne, the intelligence officer of the column, some 12 miles south of Mundisore, and it was thought likely we should be opposed there. Mayne told me

he had excellent information about the position of the enemy, so when we arrived in camp, I went to his tent to look at his map, which consisted of a sheet of paper with a round O in the middle marked 'Mundisore 12 guns,' and there were smaller o's nearer it, marked with the names of villages and the supposed number of armed men and guns in each.

"When reading Blacker's *Mahratta War* at Mhow, I had fortunately copied from it the map of the country round Mundisore, where General Hyslop encamped in 1817 and signed a treaty. This map now became of great value, as it proved to be wonderfully accurate, though 40 years old.

"It was the next morning the force marched to within 4 or 5 miles of Mundisore. Neemuch, a British station, 30 miles north of Mundisore, had been for some time besieged by the rebels, and it was known that its supplies of food and ammunition were nearly exhausted; the question was, whether to attack the Shahzadah's army in Mundisore, and, having defeated it, march to the relief of Neemuch, or make a flank march round Mundisore to Neemuch; and, if so, should Mundisore be passed on our right or left. The political officer, Colonel Durand, invited the brigadier and staff into his tent (and I attended with my map) to discuss the subject. It seemed advisable to push on to Neemuch and fight the Shahzadah if he attacked us. Opinion differed about the route to be taken, as a number of beds of streams were shown on the map, and no one knew whether they were passable; so the camp was pitched, and a reconnaissance was ordered to decide the point. Mayne was to go, but the commanding engineer objected to my going, as it was dangerous. However, I was asked to stay to breakfast by Colonel Durand, and, as he wished me to go, I afterwards accompanied Mayne and his escort of 300 cavalry. The orders were to report on the places for crossing the streams, and especially regarding two hills, one on the

S.W. and the other N.E. of Mundisore, and on no account to bring on an action. The camp was in the valley of a stream, the outposts were on the rising ground north of it, and cavalry picquets were placed near villages still farther ahead. As we rode forward, it became evident that the nearer of the two hills was strongly occupied by hostile cavalry. Mayne wanted to charge them, but I reminded him that such action would be contrary to orders—still, I consented to go if he would give me the distinct order in presence of the cavalry officer commanding the picquet, and when we reached him it was no longer a question whether the enemy should be attacked, for the Shahzadah's force, seeing very few of the British, as the whole brigade was concealed by accident of ground, was coming straight for the picquets, and they drove in the outlying picquets. I remember Henry Clerk and George Dew retired excessively angry at being driven in.

“Lieutenants Clerk and Dew with Prendergast then, with a handful of cavalry from the picquets, charged the masses of the hostile infantry, with the effect of checking them, till our cavalry and artillery could come into action.

“My memory is not clear about the early part of the battle. I remember charging right in among the enemy's standard-bearers, and I recollect hearing a tremendous noise behind me, and seeing artillery clattering down a hill covered with loose stones at a gallop; this was Hungerford's battery. When he crested the hill, and wished to fire into the enemy's infantry columns, the dragoons began to charge. He couldn't stand that, so he charged with his guns right into the thick of the rebels.

“We galloped on, and I rode for a long time with the 3rd Hyderabad Cavalry, to which also Dew and a few dragoons had attached themselves. At one place we were threatened by the enemy's cavalry, but they did not charge home. When they turned I observed

a big dun horse that I coveted ; perhaps he was not a good one, but I rode for him, and his rider apparently knew the ground, for he headed for a little village, suddenly pulled up, and, dismounting, made a rest for his musket of his saddle, and fired at me, while his friends in the village gave me a volley that convinced me the horse was not worth having. In one place we found a party of the enemy had occupied a rocky hillock round the base of which ran a stream. I happened to be leading, and I was conscious that my horse generally refused water, and I crammed him at the brook, and round he swerved, throwing the leading sowars out of their stride ; then came the commandant full of compliments to me for spoiling everything. However, we all blundered through the water, and destroyed the infantry who had been firing down at us. So accomplished a spearsman was the commandant that he considered it clumsy to touch a man with his hog-spear except in the neck ; shortly after my bungling at the brook, the commandant actually missed a man, and, instead of riding on, he turned round in his wrath to use his weapon more effectually. I was riding just in rear, and when the commandant turned his horse suddenly, I nearly upset him ; he was very angry, but he did me a good turn afterwards, for he (Captain Sutherland Orr) speared a fine rohilla who had shot me. George Dew was ahead of our party ; no accurate formation could be kept, and the regiment was broken up by rocks and streams and trees and hedges in our course, when I observed a fine, tall man step from behind a hedge and cover Dew with his matchlock. Dew passed without seeing him, so I shouted to warn my comrade, and rode for the stranger ; he heard my shout, and prepared to receive me, and, waiting till I was so close to him that the superfluous powder and flash from the discharge burnt my bridle hand, fired into my ribs, close to the heart. It was then that Sutherland Orr rode forward and killed the fine fellow, who, scorning to retire behind the high,

hedge that was close to him, preferred to remain where he was and fight the regiment. As I was hard hit, two dragoons, whose horses were lame, were told off to escort me back to camp; the dragoons, like good fellows, cheered me with yarns of their day's adventures. One of them described how, in a *mêlée*, he had seen 'a blooming fool of an officer not only let off a man whom he might have cut down, but actually called to him that he was a "bheestie." I d——d soon cut off half the beggar's head!' This story I knew was true, because I was the officer, and remembered the circumstance; the water-carrier's sword was in its scabbard, and so I could not strike him.

"As we walked our horses towards camp, we came to a place near which we had charged, and it was still strewn with corpses; my escort asked permission to see if any arms or plunder were to be found, which I gave, as the dragoons had done their share of the destruction; one of them was carrying my sword as I was rather faint, when whizz! whizz! came bullets past me as I moved along, so I drew my revolver and rode for my assailants, a group of men hidden in some green crop. Only three barrels of my revolver would go off, so, having delivered my shots, I had to retire and leave the fellows to be dealt with by some dragoons that happened to come up. One of the dragoons lost a toe by a sword cut, but that was the only casualty among them.

"On return to camp, loud were the lamentations and severe were the chidings of my faithful horsekeeper,¹ who considered that my misfortune was due to my having ridden without his knowledge, and without him in attendance.

"The day was won, and I was more frightened than hurt by my wound, which was reported by the surgeon to be 'severe and dangerous.'

¹ Served with Prendergast throughout the Central Indian campaign; always anxious to be in thick of fighting, whether he rode "Engineer"—the horse of which he had charge—or any other way.

“Colonel Robertson of the 25th Bombay N.I. commanded the outposts, and he was good enough to attribute the success of the day in a great measure to a charge of a handful of cavalry headed by Lieutenants Clerk, Hyderabad Cavalry; George Dew of the 14th Light Dragoons; and H. Prendergast of the Engineers, on the enemy’s infantry, which delayed the enemy while the British troops were getting under arms, and the colonel considered that all three deserved the Victoria Cross.

“On the following day a short flank march was made without serious opposition to place the force on the road to Neemuch, then besieged by the rebels. On the 23rd the force marched north, but before long they found the Shahzada’s army which had been encamped before Neemuch in the strong position of Goorariah, 5 miles N.W. of Mundisore. The brigadier at once prepared to attack, and eventually charged the batteries in the centre of the position. The sappers were in echelon on the left of the 25th N.I. in the advance. During the action a strong body of rebels marched from Mundisore with the intention of attacking in reverse the right of the British line which was already outflanked by the preponderating strength of the army from Neemuch. Their attempt was, however, frustrated by the prompt action on the part of the rearguard, consisting of detachments of the 14th Light Dragoons, 1st and 4th Hyderabad Cavalry, the Madras Sappers in charge of an 8-inch howitzer, and the 25th Bombay N.I. Havildars Appoo (afterwards Subadar Bahadur) and Gooroosammy of the sappers were distinguished for their readiness in loading and firing the howitzer at a critical moment.

“Next morning the village of Goorariah was shelled, and at 4 p.m. the 86th, 25th N.I., and sappers stormed and captured it. The sappers were especially useful in knocking down walls, and making approaches by which the troops could advance upon the enemy under cover. Naique Vellien (afterwards Subadar Major

Sirdar Bahadur) distinguished himself at this time by his cool courage. Thus four days' fighting was brought to a close. Neemuch was relieved, and the camp again pitched at Mundisore."

The following notes of Prendergast written with reference to these affairs will prove of interest.

"I bought 'Engineer' (a horse he had then) from Abdul Rahman, the Arab dealer at Mhow. 'Engineer' was a tall, well-bred Arab, full of pluck, and a thorough gentleman. At the battle of the Betwa he received a sword cut, and his reins were cut away. Five years later, after he had won races, he was sold for 5000 rupees for stud purposes.

"On the day that the ridge west of Fort Dhar was occupied, some men of the 86th broke into a liquor shop in the town, and invited the sappers to join them. The result was that many of them were 'very happy.'

"I remember hearing Sapper Mauremootoo telling a sergeant that in Burmah the generals would not be stopped by a fort like that; they always called for the sappers and the ladders, and went at anything. The little sapper did not observe that the walls were considerably taller than the scaling ladders, but he had a very poor opinion of the modern brigadier-general, who was about to regularly besiege the place. As a reward for their gallantry in repairing the embrasures under fire at the siege of Dhar, I put the men who had done real good service into a little dark shed to sleep for an hour. To my horror the commanding engineer turned them all out in spite of my remonstrances!

"In those days it was the custom to drink healths in wine, spirits, or malt whenever you took anything. Great was the delight of our Subadar Seeloway if one of us asked him to join in a drink, saying 'Your good health, Subadar!' over a glass of beer, especially if a number of thirsty British soldiers were present to see the compliment paid him. Seeloway was a typical sapper, very black, with a good-natured ugly face. He

was a good disciplinarian, and insisted on being treated with due respect ; he would turn his hand to anything. A Hindoo by descent, he enjoyed a Hindoo feast ; a Christian by conviction, he appreciated Christmas cheer, and, being liberal, he joined in Mohammedan festivities.

“ It was a strange sight to see him in gorgeous orange-coloured pantaloons marching the Christians to chapel on a Sunday to the sound of tom-tom or kettledrums taken in some fort. He was a good friend to all, and a brave soldier.

“ Another was Ali Khan, the jemadar of the B Company, a quiet, reserved, and religious man. He had served under Sir Wm. Nott at Kandahar, and under Sir Charles Napier at Meeanee in Sind ; he was one of the 60 sappers, of whom only 20 were armed, who marched up the Bolan without escort, and he was with the famous detachment of Sapper C Company who, by breaking down the wall of the Shikargah, enabled the artillery to play upon the army of the Ameers, and did much to gain the day.

“ Sir Charles Napier wrote with his own hand to Tandroyen, the native officer with the detachment : ‘ I remember you well in the beds of the Fullailee River, and if I deserved the Cross of the Bath, you equally deserved the ribbon of the Order of India.’

“ On two occasions during the Central Indian Campaign Ali Khan commanded his subdivision, which was employed in breaking passages from house to house in native villages when, having no firearms with them, the sappers had to fell enemies with spade, hatchet, or whatever tool they were using for their work.

“ Ali Khan was not clever, but he was much respected ; he was particular about having his food cooked by a co-religionist, and never touched alcohol, but was always content with the biscuit that he took care to carry in his haversack and the water in his bottle.

“ He eventually became a Sirdar Bahadur, and was

always an honoured and remarkable guest when he called on me at Bangalore years afterwards, with his long white beard, and his breast covered with medals.

"Vellien was in Central India in 1858, and while in Persia, appointed mess writer, because he was eminently sober and abstemious, and Brigadier Hutt was much pleased with him for designing an excellent mess hut for the artillery officers at Mohumera. He rose to be Subadar Major Sirdar Bahadur, and after his retirement was a landholder in Madura district."

These extracts from his notes show what a keen appreciation Prendergast had of the good qualities of those with whom he associated, and how he loved to bring them out.

His remarks about the use of arms and modes of defence are also well worthy of consideration.

"Sufficient attention is not given by officers of the British Army to learning and practising the use of their pistols, swords, and fists. During the action at Goorariah one of the enemy, armed with a very long sword in one hand and a dagger in the other, came dancing out of the village, twirling round and round, and brandishing his arms; he passed through the skirmishers, and approached the commandant of the 25th Bombay N.I. The major, who could manœuvre a regiment as well as any man, but knew nothing about sword play, told me that his feelings were most unenviable, till a sepoy stepped forward and relieved him of the necessity of personal conflict with a professor of swordsmanship by bayoneting the brave man. The sepoy was promoted on the spot for his presence of mind and promptitude, and Major Robertson lived to do more good service for his country. Some men manage without swordsmanship, but they have good nerve and risk more than is necessary."

General Worster of the artillery used to tell a story of George Broadfoot of the sappers, who was the most distinguished of the Illustrious Garrison of

Jellahabad in the first Afghan War. "A friend had asked him how it was that he, who was not a great swordsman, and had been in the thick of so much fighting, was still alive. His reply was, 'When two men meet in real earnest, one always funks, and I never do!'" "I often lectured Clerk of the Hyderabad Contingent about his ignorance of the use of the sword, though he was very handy with a hog-spear, the weapon which he always used in action; but at the battle of the Betwa, in 1858, having lost one spear and broken another, he drew his sword, which was a good long-curved sabre, as sharp as a razor, and he was a very powerful man. At the first blow he cut a man's head in half, as handsomely as if he had been used to the work. He was then shot, and taken to the hospital, so he had the laugh of me; for I was a bit of a swordsman, but was disabled by sword cuts that very same day."

But to continue the story of the campaign.

A breach was effected by the sappers in one of the walls of the Mundisore fort, and the force prepared to march to Indore by way of Mehidpore and Oojein in time to welcome Sir Hugh Rose at a Christmas banquet.

Sir Henry Durand offered Prendergast the post of executive engineer at Mhow, the best appointment in his gift, before he left Central India, but "when there seemed a fine prospect of more fighting he was good enough to allow me to decline his offer. I was young and strong, and my wound was by this time looking healthy, though it had been troublesome. The bullet was turned by a rib, and went out behind me; the surgeon in charge of me tried to cure the wound from both ends, but one fine day when he was absent I came into the hands of Surgeon Mackenzie (now Sir W. Mackenzie, K.C.B.), who at once spoilt the experiment of a fancy cure and cut my side open from the place where the ball entered to the place where it went out, and gave the wound a good chance of healing from

the bottom, for he found that sloughing was going on close to my heart.

“ Fox of the sappers and I were allowed to go from Indore to Mhow together. He had been told that if my wound looked bad, caustic should be applied. He was a very keen amateur veterinary surgeon, and was grinding bluestone to put on my side when, fortunately, a medical officer happened to call, and when I said a comrade was just at the time preparing to doctor me, he offered his services, explained that as I was not a horse the bluestone would probably have killed me as Fox was going to apply it, and taking a stick of lunar caustic out of his pocket soon touched me up, and left me a wiser and a sounder man.”

Sir Robert Hamilton returned to his post as governor-general's agent in Central India at the same time as Sir Hugh Rose took command of the Central India Field Force, of which General Stewart's brigade became a part in the end of 1857. It may here be remarked that when Sir Hugh Rose visited the hospitals, he said that the Government were highly pleased with the Madras Sappers.

On the 8th January 1858 the siege train commenced to march from Indore to Sehore. Sir Hugh Rose's force was divided into two brigades : the 1st, under Brigadier Stuart, marched along the trunk road towards Goona to capture Chandairee ; while the 2nd, under Sir Hugh Rose himself, left for Ratghur on 16th, encamped on the 18th at Bhopal, reached Bhillsa on 21st, Gwanopore on 23rd, and marching next day 4 miles from camp found the road obstructed. The Madras Sappers (who were with Sir Hugh Rose) were ordered to clear the way, which they did with intense labour. The heavy guns were also dragged up by them. On the 24th they bivouacked in the jungles, and reached Ratghur at 1 p.m. on the 24th, driving the enemy (who had sallied forth with the intention of holding the ford of the Beema) into the fort.

That day a reconnaissance was made of 18 miles of the whole country round the Rock of Ratghur by Sir Hugh Rose and Major Boileau, commanding engineer, and siege materials were collected. Ratghur is about 30 miles from Saugor.

On the 26th the pettah, north of the fort, was taken, from which commenced the right attack. At the same time the troops moved by a circuitous route to within 300 yards of the east face of the fort to commence the left attack.

On this day the B Company Sappers were throwing up a battery for the attack when Captain Brown, commanding the Company, told the Subadar Seeloway that General Rose and the chief engineer, Major Boileau, wished to know if there was a ditch in front of a certain wall they intended to breach, and called for volunteers.

The subadar at once volunteered, and with his Jemadar Appavoo and privates Chinnatumby, Appasammy, and Samathevan advanced under a heavy fire, jumped into the ditch, took all the requisite measurements, and returned safely with the report.

The river Beema washes the precipitous south and west fronts of the fort, and the fords of the river were entrusted to the Bhopal Regiment.

The sappers were employed in making the road to the left attack, in constructing such protective works as were practicable for men and guns, by cutting brushwood for screens and building stone breast-works. By unremitting labour, cover had been made for the troops by the sappers parallel to the east face, and an elevated sandbag battery for two 18-prs. and one 8-inch howitzer to breach a curtain between two towers was erected by daylight on the 27th. On the evening of the 28th the breach was inspected by Corporal Linehan and Privates Pitchamootoo and Chinnatumby of sappers, and found practicable. Soon after, the chief engineer, wishing to know the progress made in the breaching of the wall, Captain Brown called for



Benj. Rose

volunteers to accompany Corporal Linehan, B Company, on this service. Lance Naique Pitchamootoo and Private Samathevan at once volunteered to accompany him (the latter had already been to the ditch), and proceeded to the ditch under cover of the Enfield rifles of 3rd Bombay Europeans and blank firing of the heavy guns. The corporal jumped bravely into the ditch, followed closely by both privates, under very sharp firing from the enemy. Everything that was required was ascertained, and was reported by the corporal in the most correct manner, as was found on the following morning. All these native sappers received the third class of the Order of Merit. The enemy evacuated the fort during the night, crossing a ford of the Beema south-west of the fort, and passing through the Bhopal camp. The following interesting account of these proceedings is given by Prendergast himself in the following extracts from his notes.

“Ratghur is a hill fort, situated at the extremity of a hill range which terminates precipitously, its base being washed on two sides by the Beema. The brigade marched with due precautions on the morning of the 24th. There was some delay while a road was made across a ravine. In the afternoon, on receiving intelligence that the enemy were not holding the ford across the Beema, Sir Hugh Rose galloped forward with the Horse Artillery and cavalry of the advance guard, to seize a position beyond the river, so as to protect the brigade while crossing. The plan was good, and the movement ~~was~~ well executed; the battery was very soon in action on high ground beyond the river against hostile infantry that had issued from the fort, apparently with the intention of attacking the brigade at the ford, and preventing it from crossing. The General observing cavalry at some distance, probably going to the ford, sent the whole of his own cavalry escort to attack it, trusting apparently to the brigade to protect his battery with which Sir Hugh stayed. The enemy came to

within 150 yards of the battery under cover of garden walls. Sir Hugh (the bravest of the brave) jumped his horse over a wall to see how many of the enemy were there. I happened to be the only staff officer present, and I could not get the information for him as my horse had just been shot through the body. After a time the British troops came up, the enemy retired, and the camp was pitched east of the river.

"I remember Major Macdonald coming back to report his success against the cavalry to the General, who looked at him interrogatively, 'Killed them all, sir,' said the major. 'Thanks, a thousand thanks,' replied Sir Hugh.

"It was an important day for me. 'Engineer,' my first charger, fell with me, before we left the brigade, as I was going at a gallop to deliver an order; his forefeet went into a deep hole, he sent me a 'crumpler' on to my head and shoulder, and was dead lame himself. My other charger wanted shoeing, and had been left in the rear with the baggage. I was sitting by the roadside holding my horse, and looking miserable when a good Samaritan (or perhaps Irishman) saw me, and offered me a mount (Lieut. Chas. Roberts of the Bombay Artillery was the officer), and got some one to lead my poor cripple. Before an hour had elapsed his gallant grey was shot under me, and I couldn't get credit for another horse. We passed a wretched night as scrub jungle extended close to our camp, and the enemy persisted in firing at the tents; besides that, my head and back were very sore from the fall, and I was feverish and intensely thirsty. On the 25th, a reconnaissance was made, and on the 26th, Ratghur having been invested, the British force containing the N. and E. fronts, and the native allies the S. and W., which were built on a precipitous rock washed by the river Beema that was only passable at a few fords. The British camp was N. of the fort, and mortar batteries were established in front of it to enfilade the east front, and lines were

opened opposite to the east front of the hill on which the fort stood.

“The hill was covered with jungle, and by cutting down the shrubs a screen was made parallel to the east front, which consisted of a high masonry wall with towers as flanking defences, protected by a deep and wide ditch; a battery for field guns was at once constructed, and opened fire that day; and by the following morning the breaching battery was prepared and armed. The screen was not good enough to stop shot or bullets, but as the enemy could not see through it, he soon ceased from firing on the chance of hitting unseen enemies. The cannonade was continuous till the morning of the 29th, when there was an ominous silence in the fort, and a fear lest the enemy had slipped away in the night. Lieut. Strutt of the artillery, without orders, went forward to the breach, and mounting it found that no one was to be seen in the fort; his gunners saw their brave young officer in the breach, and soon dashed after him, followed by others, and there was cheering and a rush to haul down the enemy’s flag.

“The artillery of our enfilading batteries observed the commotion, but did not know the reason, and began to blaze away at the fort till the enemy’s flag came down, and a Queen’s colour was hoisted in its place. Strutt was put under arrest for leading the men into peril, and so ended the siege of Ratghur. For my part I was glad it was over; there was very hard work night and day. I had been on the ridge without a wash since the 26th; my old wound was not healed; the only sleep I had was on the night of the 28th for a short time on the ground in tall wet grass, for the dew was very heavy, and we had no cover, so that I rose from it wet through and crippled with rheumatism. I had been hit on the arm by a bullet on the 28th, but was not hurt; on the 27th the enemy had attacked the camp, and carried off my camels which were out grazing, the old driver had been hit on the head and stunned, and

woke to hear the enemy discussing whether they should cut off his head, and exhibit it as the head of a British officer! Fortunately for him he was very black and ugly, and had only one eye, so they left him for dead. When they were gone he picked himself up, and came to me to report progress.

"On inspecting the fort we found that the part of the wall that had been breached was absolutely the weakest part in the whole fort, and the little siege had been admirably planned and conducted by the commanding engineer, Major Boileau.

"The enemy escaped by descending at night by paths that seemed impassable by day, only a few were killed in the descent; they then forded the river, and passed our allies, who must have connived at their escape, or else gone to sleep in the full assurance that it was impossible for any one to get away from the fort.

"On the 30th the sappers occupied the fort, and commenced mining and demolishing the buildings. Sir Hugh Rose received information that the rebels had taken up a position 8 miles off at Barodia, and himself went after them with Horse Artillery, 3rd Europeans, some cavalry and sappers, and signally defeated them, with loss to the enemy of four to five hundred, according to their own account; our loss was 2 killed, and 21 wounded; but one of the former was Captain Neville, R.E., who had just joined and was acting aide-de-camp to Sir Hugh Rose, who was killed by a round shot at his side, to his great regret. Knowing what excellent service he had done as an engineer officer before Sebastopol, I had brought him up by forced marches to assist in the reduction of forts in this country; during the action he was most useful to me, exhibiting to the last the courage and intelligence which had obtained for him so honourable a reputation."

On the 3rd February the force marched into Saugor. "On arrival at Saugor I went with a friend at once to the Parsi's shop in the cantonment, as the mess stores

sadly needed replenishment. As we could find no Parsi, we wrote an order for stores, and borrowed the Parsi's bullock coach and bullocks; it is not an easy thing to drive strange bullocks if you are not practised in the art, and we were soon in difficulties with our cattle, when fortunately a sapper saw us, and drove us safely to camp. It is extraordinary how handy the sappers are, besides their own business which comprises surveying, drawing, photography, carpentry, smith's work, stone-cutting, brick-making, bricklaying, basket work, sawing, making fascines, gabines, etc., bridges, etc., every sapper can make himself understood in several languages, can drive bullocks or camels, cook your dinner, black your boots. He is not a good man (till specially instructed) to choose your rations, as, personally, he prefers a high-flavoured old ram or he-goat to a tender lamb.

"The bullock coach was highly appreciated; a fastidious medical officer had brought carefully in a dhooly a mufti frock-coat and top hat, so we formed a party to go out visiting the ladies; at each house the handsome owner of the sacred garments paid his respects first, the rest of us who had been almost in rags waited in the coach for his return, and then each in turn put on the frock-coat and hat in hand made his call. One pretty girl had come from England to join her father, and arrived at Saugor the day before the mutiny of the native troops drove all the officers and ladies into the fort, in which they had been confined ever since. The Staff gave a picnic in a grove near the Saugor lake—and a ball was proposed, but that had to be postponed in favour of conducting the siege of Gurrakota.

"Very early on the morning of the 8th February I was sent with half the company of sappers to Nurrowlie, 14 miles off, to blow up the little hill fort and works there. This place had been held for some months by the insurgents, and in September a force from Saugor had attempted to take it, but was repulsed with heavy

loss, and the commanding officer and many men were killed. The failure was caused by want of knowledge of the ground, the place was not properly reconnoitred, the orders were for the European artillery not to be exposed to fire, and the plan of attack was faulty. As it was known that the General would march towards Gurrakota next morning, we worked hard; two men cooked for the company; the mines were ready before sunset, these were exploded; the men ate their food, and back we marched the same night, so that we might march with the company to Sanoda at four in the morning for more work. 'Twenty-eight miles' march, and a power of digging and labour, was not bad for one day's work!

"I remember the astonishment of the officer commanding the detachment of the 42nd Bengal N.I., who was out with us at Nurrowlie, at seeing the sappers of all creeds taking their rations from the same boilers, rather than waste time."

On the 10th they marched to Bussaree, close to Gurrakota, and took part that afternoon in an affair with the enemy. On the 11th the fort was reconnoitred, and batteries were commenced at night; but during the night the fort was abandoned. Captain Hare, with Hyderabad Cavalry, pursued them for 25 miles. The fort was occupied, and a short front was destroyed by mines so as to leave a practicable breach in the enceinte of Gurrakota. Both Madras and Bombay Sappers were employed on this work. The B Company marched back to Saugor, and then towards Jhansi.

"It was a bold venture to attack Gurrakota with only a single brigade, and an insignificant battery train; considering that in 1817 this strong fortress was besieged by a much greater British force, and after many weeks of open trenches, the garrison, when it capitulated, was allowed to march out with all military honours of war; as a matter of fact, the breach that had been made was in a wall at the top of a height so lofty and steep

that it would have been impossible for the assaulting column to reach the breach. The enemy, according to the custom in India, showed himself outside the fort, but were soon driven back to take shelter within its walls. The following day was devoted by the General to a reconnaissance of the fort, and as five rivers had to be crossed in going round the fort, cavalry, artillery, and infantry were included in the escort, as the party was frequently fired on and might have been attacked by a very large force; the day was one of excitement. When passing through the village of Gurra-kota, I wanted to pass the Horse Artillery guns that were drawn up in one of the streets, the sergeant-major respectfully but firmly barred the way, saying that he couldn't have my grey charger passing his horses in a narrow street. On asking what he knew about my horse, he told me that the horse had belonged to the battery, and was the wickedest brute they ever had; that it had been cast for incurable vice, and bought by an officer for rupees seventeen! I bought him from a friend, who told me that he had bought him cheap, and we agreed that I should pay a price to be fixed by an impartial committee of officers. He stood nearly 17 hands high, and at times he was horribly vicious, as I found out afterwards, but I paid 700 rupees for him; fortunately he was a fine jumper, and was sure-footed, though he several times ran away with me. I don't remember ever having a fall from him, and I don't think that he ate or badly wounded any one while he was my property, but it was not for want of trying; he would generally behave well on a march of 10 or 12 miles, but after that distance he was apt to be dangerous, and fly at any man or beast. In the cold grey of the morning after having been in the saddle three or four hours, the best-tempered of mortals is apt to feel aggrieved if a horse goes for him open-mouthed, or tries to kick him into a ditch, so my friends were apt to shun me when I rode 'Ajax.' ”

While the General was busy reconnoitring, the artillery occupied the batteries constructed for them by the sappers on the previous evening, and kept on hammering at the fort walls with the siege guns ; during the night after the reconnaissance the enemy took fright, and evacuated the fine fort that had been well stored with food and ammunition.

“ During the day Captain Lightfoot of the artillery exhibited presence of mind when mutinous infantry were seen to approach his guns, which at the time had no escort, by making his bugler sound light infantry calls, as if a regiment was advancing ; the enemy, having been sepoys, understood their meaning, and promptly retired ; the guns were saved.”

The demolition of one part of the fort of Gurrakota was entrusted to Prendergast ; “ two towers, the curtain joining them ; the *fausse braie* and counter-scarp were mined, but neither the gunpowder nor port fires, with which the trains were fired at three centres of ignition, were trustworthy, being of native manufacture ; so the effect on the *fausse braie* and counter-scarp were not so effective as had been anticipated, but the demolition of the escarp wall in which there were about thirty charges, each of three barrels of powder, was perfect ; there was only a rumbling sound and the towers and curtain turned over into the ditch amid a cloud of smoke and dust.

“ The capture of Gurrakota was a most important success, as in the country round it was deemed absolutely impregnable. We marched thence to Saugor. The ball was given that had been deferred on account of the military operations. Happy was the man who secured a partner, for there were only five ladies present who danced, and thrice happy he who was favoured with a waltz, for only two ladies waltzed. Some of the fair ones thought the time inappropriate for festivities, while others showed their thankfulness to God by wearing a cheerful countenance, and joining in the

song and dance. All men and women had passed through times of trial and hardship, and many a gallant fellow then present never again in this world conversed with English matron or maid, for on the morrow the brigade was marched towards Jhansi."

Arriving at Rajiwar on the 1st March, the little fort of Barodia was occupied the same afternoon, and next day Lieut. Prendergast with half a company of sappers put it into a state of repair. "In addition to the sappers he had a company of Khoonds. He posted them as guards during the night, but when he went his rounds he invariably found them asleep, and had to rouse them up. In addition he had 200 Hyderabad Contingent Infantry.

"The General determined to gain the tableland by a flank movement through the pass of Muddunpore. While these movements were in progress Prendergast held the fort at Barodia.

"As scrub jungle grew close up to the fort wall, and the postern gate was undefended, his first care was to clear the glacis and to erect a traverse at the gate. The fort stood on a hill, there was no well, so he had to carry water from the village below by hand, and to store it in case of siege. We had taken the precaution to drive some sheep into the fort. The Khoonds were quite undisciplined, the fidelity of the contingent men was questioned; and the real trustworthy garrison was the 25 sappers. It was necessary for me to be up and about every hour of the day and night with such a garrison.

"The road to the north bifurcated at Rajiwar, the eastern road thence led through the Muddunpore pass, and the western threaded the Malthon pass. Barodia fort was on the Rajiwar-Malthon road, but from the fort walls a man could see the entrance to the Muddunpore pass.

"On the 5th March the General divided his force; the headquarters took the road to Muddunpore. The enemy were holding this pass where the road enters

the defile between low hills covered with jungle, and as a stream ran past the base of the hills, the position was well selected for defence. The enemy's skirmishers were driven in, took cover behind the bank of the stream, and on the jungle-clad hills in rear of it; and when the Horse Artillery galloped forward to fire into the pass, their musketry fire was so heavy and well directed that the gunners could not work their guns, which had been unlimbered, although Sir Hugh Rose was present, and had a horse shot as the word was given to limber up and retire; and it was some time before the British infantry succeeded in clearing the hill of the enemy. This occurred on the west of the road. The little hill on the east of the road was not so gallantly held, and the right of the British line was therefore able, after defeating the enemy in their front, to turn the left of the enemy's position that had been attacked by the General, and the whole of the enemy's force was routed; thus the Muddunpore pass was forced. I could hear the guns, and see the smoke and dust, but was very glad when Captain Moore of the 3rd Bombay Light Cavalry arrived; he was sent back after the troops had camped beyond the pass to inquire how matters were going at Barodia and in the Malthon pass. I was safe, but had no news from Malthon, so he baited his horses in Barodia village. During breakfast Moore gave me the details of the engagement, and as he was dog tired, I put him to bed in my tent—a servant's single cloth 'rowty'; the heat was intense, and no breeze could enter the little area enclosed by the four walls of the fort. My guest was the elder Moore, who was distinguished in the charge on the Persian infantry at Borasjun, and was helped out of the Persian square by his brother, after his horse had been shot. He was very tall and heavy, and smashed my camp cot with his weight. Later in the day, Major Scudamore's column returned from the Malthon pass; he had had a skirmish with the enemy who were quite prepared to

retire when they found that their Muddunpore column had been defeated. I was glad to be relieved of my command that evening, as the fort was extremely dirty. One of my men had already had smallpox, and there were no good points at all about Barodia.

"Sir Hugh Rose when he found that the enemy on the hill in his front was retiring, galloped at the head of his Staff into the pass, and presently came upon an iron howitzer, which he claimed as his prize. One of the Staff indiscreetly said that he knew the piece; the General was wroth, and when he heard that it belonged to Lieut. Strutt's battery, ordered that officer under arrest. Strutt had taken his howitzer as fast and as far as he could with the right wing of the brigade that had entered the pass before the General's wing had cleared the hill before them; when he could do no more good with it, he was not going to stay fooling in rear, but led his gunners on armed with their swords against the retreating enemy, and left the howitzer to the protection of the troops that would follow. Strutt, who was as brave as he was clever, and accomplished, was honourably released, and afterwards became an aide-de-camp to Sir Hugh Rose.

"We kept St. Patrick's Day as a feast, and were enjoying ourselves 'Irishly,' when at 10 p.m. an order was brought to me to leave camp quietly at midnight with a squadron of cavalry that would be sent to my tent, and ride to Chandairee (40 miles distant), which was being besieged by the 1st Brigade, as Sir Hugh was anxious for news. The country was hostile, and there was no road, so I went to bed fully dressed for the ride, and gave orders to have my horse ready and to wake me when the cavalry came. Imagine my horror when I woke to find it broad daylight; I hardly dared to call my servant, but at last he explained that the cavalry escort had been countermanded, and he had let me sleep on in peace. I had a similar fright at Dhar on account of sleeping too long after a very long tour of

duty; on that occasion also I was fortunate in not being wanted; but the horror of such waking moments are indescribable enough to turn grey the hair of some men."

Chandairee had been captured by Brigadier Stuart on the 17th. "The previous day reinforcements arrived for his brigade, men of the 86th County Downs had been hurried up on camels, and were anxious to assault at once after a long march, but the brigadier arranged for the attack at dawn on the morrow.

"The troops were assembled in the trenches betimes, and at the first streak of dawn a salvo was fired from all the guns of the besiegers, the band struck up 'St. Patrick's Day,' the Irishmen were let loose, and there was the devil to pay in the fort. Gosset of the R.E.'s was told off to lead the assaulting column, Jerome of the 86th was his interpreter; these two and the guide started for the breach. Captain Keatinge of the artillery, employed in the Political Department, had been refused permission to lead on account of his civil duties, although he knew the ground thoroughly; but pointing out to the brigadier that there was hesitation, that probably Jerome, though a passed interpreter of Hindustani, did not understand the patois of the village guide, obtained leave to go as far as the foot of the breach. The assault was splendidly carried out. Gosset had two bullets in the turban round his forage cap. Keatinge was cut down on the top of the breach, though the slope was so steep that a man could with difficulty surmount it. Under the excitement of action the column dashed up it, and killed all the garrison except those who, in their terror, threw themselves over its walls down the precipices.

"Ten days later Major Stewart of the 86th described the breach to me as being of extraordinary difficulty; he was a very stout man, and said that he determined to lead his men to the foot of the breach and then let them go up, as it was impossible for him to climb it,

but when they got to the bottom the men of the Light Company picked him up and carried him to the top !

“It was a fearfully hot day in the trenches before Jhansi when he told me that story, and he was full of fun when he described the assault, and vowed that he would not go through such a scene again, no, not if they made him Archbishop of Canterbury for it !”

On the 14th and 15th the B Company of sappers were engaged in surveying the fort of Tal Behut, which had been evacuated by the enemy a few days previously ; and next day the Madras and Bombay Sappers, with Hyderabad Contingent, marched to the right bank of the Betwa, 8 miles from camp, where the chief engineer, Major Boileau, was ordered to make a bridge. The river, however, was found fordable.

On the 19th the force crossed the Betwa. Rebels were reported to have escaped from Chandairee, north towards Jhansi, and the Hyderabad Cavalry were sent in pursuit and cut up a few.

At midnight on the 19th, the force marched to Chichanpore (15 miles), 8 miles from Jhansi, and on the 20th a strong detachment from the 2nd Brigade advanced by a forced march, and placed picquets on all the chief roads round Jhansi. “I lay with the sappers in the headquarters camp of the brigade, 3 or 4 miles south of the citadel ; we bivouacked in the bed of a stream so as not to be seen by the enemy, and the orders were that fires were not to be lighted, and no one was to smoke ; however, some one set fire to a village just in rear of us, and after that it was absurd to prohibit fires, and the men were able to cook the food which was much needed after a 23-mile march in the hottest weather. Troops were disposed on all the roads to Jhansi to prevent access to the city. A story was told of one picquet of the 14th Dragoons, that, seeing a body of the enemy approaching, the men were concealed behind rocks on both sides of the road, and Captain Need went up to the enemy, halted them, and

ordered them to sit down—which they did; the dragoons then issued from their hiding and cut them all down.”

On the 21st a reconnaissance was made by the General and Major Boileau, accompanied by cavalry, horse artillery, and light field guns. Prendergast accompanied the General, who did not return until half-past six.

It was determined to attack Jhansi on the south and south-east. Tantia Topee was reported to have left Jhansi for the purpose of bringing down a large army from Calpee (chiefly Gwallior Contingent) to the relief of Jhansi. Sir Hugh Rose in his dispatch thus describes Jhansi :

“The great strength of the fort, natural as well as artificial, and its extent entitled it to a place among fortresses. It stands on an elevated rock rising out of a plain, and commands the city and surrounding country. It is built of excellent and most massive masonry. The fort is difficult to breach because composed of granite. The fort was extensive and elaborate, outworks of the same solid construction, with front and flanking embrasures for artillery fire, and loopholes—of which, in some places, there were five tiers for musketry. Guns placed on the high towers of the fort commanded the country all round. One tower, called the white turret, had been raised lately, and armed with heavy ordnance. The fortress is surrounded by the city of Jhansi on all sides, except the west and part of the south. The steepness of the rock protects the west, the fortified city wall with bastions springing from the centre of its south face. The mound was fortified by a strong circular bastion for 8 guns, round part of which was drawn a ditch 12 feet deep and 15 feet broad of solid masonry. Quantities of men were always at work on the mound. The city of Jhansi is about $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles in circumference, and is surrounded by a fortified and massive wall, 6 to 12 feet thick, and 18 to 30 feet

high, with flanking bastions armed as batteries with ordnance and loopholes, with a banquette for infantry. Outside the walls the city is girt with wood, except some parts of east and south fronts; on the former is a picturesque lake and water palace; to the south are the ruined cantonments, and residences of the English. Temples with their gardens—one, the Jokim Bagh, the scene of the massacre of our lamented countrymen—and two rocky ridges; the eastmost, called Kapoo Tekri, both important positions, facing and threatening the south face of the city wall and fort.

“Sir Robert Hamilton estimated the number of the garrison at 10,000 Velaities and 1500 sepoys, of whom 400 were cavalry, and the number of guns in the city at 30 or 40.

“The sappers, who spent eighteen out of the twenty-four hours in the trenches, were encamped in the grounds of the house that had belonged to Colonel Skene, the late Commissioner of Jhansi; he and his wife defended themselves to the last, and were killed in the house that was burnt by the enemy.

“Major Boileau, Lieut. Bonus, and I were employed in the reconnaissance on the 22nd, and we worked from the camp, east of Jhansi, and so to the north-west, where we were to meet the General on a certain hill; when we arrived there, Sir Hugh approached us, but presently a horseman rode towards him and his escort, from the west; suddenly the horseman turned and fled, the General and his Staff and escort, consisting of a squadron of dragoons, pursued; it was a fine chase over good sporting country, the ground unfortunately baked hard, and we saw eight horses go down with their riders. The hunt lasted till it was evident the horseman was making for Major Orr’s camp. He proved to be an orderly sent with a letter to Sir Hugh, but was apparently panic-stricken at approaching some dragoons who evidently thought he was an enemy, and proposed to treat him accordingly.

It was a good hunt, but wasted much time and energy.

“As we were returning to camp we were surprised at meeting a party of red-coated cavalry. I pulled our escort of the Hyderabad Cavalry together with a view of attacking them, but as we approached the leader, Captain H. O. Mayne, was recognised, and the troopers found to be the nucleus of the now famous Central India Horse whom we had not seen before.

“Those of us who were on duty in the trenches and had been in Havelock's division in Persia, celebrated the anniversary of the battle of Mohumera by dining together in the trenches; a great hole from which earth had been taken to build a native tomb was selected as our dining-place, the tomb which consisted of a mound, revetted by brickwork plastered over, had been made useful as the parapet of a mortar battery. I had been detained, and was rather late, so my hungry friends were somewhat impatient when I appeared, and called on me to hurry up; at that moment a round shot struck the side of the tomb just above us, and down I came with a shower of broken bricks, mortar and dust, amidst the adjurations of the convives for spoiling the dinner. Fortunately there was not much dinner to spoil, and we had not much leisure for reflection; but there was good fellowship, and we had a pleasant reunion.

“On the 29th March Lieut. Meiklejohn and I, being off duty, rode round the picquets; he particularly wanted to see his uncle, Major (afterwards General Sir John) Forbes; as we trotted out he told me that he was sure he would be killed at the assault of Jhansi, which was imminent, and desired to entrust his last wishes to his uncle; having made his arrangements, he was quite cheerful as we rode back to our tents; but as he anticipated, he was killed while gallantly leading the men in the escalade of Jhansi on the 3rd April.

“One morning Sergeant Linahan of the sappers and I were employed in covering with skins the sand-bag revetments of the embrasures of a battery in the right attack, when the General rode up, and asked what I was doing. I replied that it was necessary to protect the bags as they would otherwise be destroyed by the guns. ‘Why don’t you make the men do it?’ was the next question. ‘Because there is a caste objection to meddling with skins, and I have not told them to do it; they are not my sappers, or they would do it at once, of course, but the sergeant and I are quite able to do it.’ ‘Oh, that’s it!’ said the General. ‘Kindly tell the next man who comes up to take your place, and oblige me by shooting him if he doesn’t!’ I gave the order firmly, and the man set to work, which was a great relief to my mind, as execution work never has been to my taste!” The remarks of a brother engineer, Joseph Bonus (now Major-General), may here fitly be introduced.

“Throughout Sir Hugh Rose’s campaign in Central India we were always together (although in different brigades), as we were both frequently on Sir Hugh’s Staff. Prendergast’s part of that business terminated at the Betwa, where he was severely wounded. I like to think that on that very hot march from Jhansi to Calpee he had my good tent to shelter him in place of his rather ragged one. I have met no man in the service, or indeed out of it, for whom I had a higher regard—no man of more equable temper. Not a man of very great ability, but of much force of character, determined, decided, a most genial companion, and, I need hardly say, quite fearless. On one occasion Sir Hugh sent him and me to ride right round Jhansi, to see if we could find a place in the wall where escalade might be successful. The day was exceedingly hot; about noon we dismounted, and sheltered under a tamarind tree while we ate some food; the rebels in the town had evidently watched us, and in a few minutes a round

shot passed through the tree some 3 or 4 feet above our heads! I was for a move: not so Prendergast. 'Let us finish,' he said, 'they won't again make such a good shot!'"

The following account of the siege of Jhansi by Sir Hugh Rose will here be of great interest: "The attack of Jhansi offered serious difficulties. There were no means of breaching the fort except from the south, but the south was flanked by the fortified city wall and mound, just described. The rocky ridge was excellent for a breaching battery, except that it was too far off, 640 yards or so, and that the fire from it would have been oblique. The mound enfiladed two walls of the city, and commanded the whole of the south quarter of it, including the palace. It was evident that the capture of the mound was the first most important operation, because its occupation ensured, in all probability, that of the south of the city, and of the palace; affording also the means of constructing by approaches an advanced breaching battery. The desideratum therefore was to concentrate a heavy fire on the mound and on the south face of the city, in order to drive the enemy out of them and facilitate their capture, to breach the wall close to the mound and dismantle the enemy's defences, which protected the mound and opposed all attack.

"This was effected, firstly, by occupying and placing batteries on a rocky knoll (right attack) which I had found in my reconnaissance to the south of the lake, opposite the Aorcha gate and south-east wall of the town, which took in reverse the mound and two walls running from it. Secondly, on the rocky ridge there was the left attack. These batteries could not be completed till the arrival of the 1st Brigade with its siege guns on the 25th.

"By the evening of the 24th there were 4 batteries on the right attack. In the meantime the right attack opened fire with an 8-inch howitzer, and two 8-inch

mortars on the rear of the mound and the south of the city, with the exception of the palace, which I wished to preserve for the use of the troops. A remarkable feature of the defence was that the enemy had no posts outside the city. The fire of the right attack on the first day (25th) cleared the mound of the workmen and the enemy. The mortars shelled and set on fire long rows of hayricks in the south of the city, which created a pretty general conflagration in that quarter. The enemy had been firing actively from the White Turret and Tree Tower Battery in the fort, the Wheel Tower, Saugor, and Lutchman Gate Batteries in the town. The Chief of the rebel artillery was a first-rate artilleryman, and he had under him two companies of Golundauze. The manner in which the rebels served their guns, repaired their defences, and reopened fire from batteries and guns repeatedly shut up was remarkable. From some batteries they returned shot for shot. The women were seen working on the batteries and carrying ammunition. The Garden Battery was fought under the black flag of the Fakeers. Everything indicated a general and determined resistance: this was not surprising, as the inhabitants, from the Rani downwards, were more or less concerned with the murder or plunder of the English. To silence the city wall batteries of the south, and cannonade more effectually the town, two 24-prs. were placed in a battery between the 8-inch howitzer and the two 8-inch mortars, and opened fire on the 25th. On the 24th I caused the rocky ridge left attack to be occupied by a strong picquet under Captain Hare with two 5½-inch mortars, which played on the mound and the houses adjacent to it. On 25th the siege train of the 1st Brigade having arrived, batteries were constructed and opened fire, from 26th to 29th, on the rocky ridge as follows, forming the left attack: two 18-prs. to dismantle the defences of the fort; two 10-inch mortars to destroy the fort; two 8-inch mortars and one 8-inch howitzer to act on the mound

and adjacent wall and city—one 18-pr. to breach the wall near the bastion of the mound. In order to prevent delay and confusion I gave names to all the enemy's batteries in the town, as well as in the fort—they were 13 in number.

"The fire of the two 18-prs. was so efficient that towards sunset the parapets of the White Turret, the Black Tower, and the Tree Tower, which faced our attack, were nearly destroyed. The 10-inch mortars created great havoc in the fort, and having pointed out to Lieut. R. Pittman, Bombay Horse Artillery, the position of a powder magazine, he blew it up at the third shot. The breach was practicable on the 30th. The enemy retrenched it with a double row of palisades filled with earth. I ordered every description of fire, including red-hot shot, to be directed on it, and the result was a considerable portion was destroyed by fire. Riflemen were placed in all the batteries, as well as in the temples and gardens to east and south sides of the city. The Jokim Bagh, nearly opposite the mound, was occupied by riflemen.

"Two of the enemy's defences which annoyed the left attack the most were the Wheel Tower on the south, and the Garden Battery on a rock in the rear of the west wall of the city. A new battery called the East was established on a ridge to the east of the rocky ridge with two 5½-inch mortars. For these were afterwards substituted two 8-inch mortars, a 9-pr., and a 24-pr. howitzer to enfilade the wall running east from the mound.

"Before the sandbag battery could be made for the 9-pr. an Acting Bombardier Brenner, of Captain Ommanney's Company, R.A., quite a lad, commanded and pointed the 9-pr. in the open, and silenced the enemy's gun in battery in the bastion, destroying, besides, its defences. I praised him for his good service on the ground, and promoted him.

"The two 8-inch mortars and occasionally the two

10-inch mortars of the left attack answered the Garden Battery, shelling also the Nia Bustie and 5 wells where the sepoys had taken up their quarters on account of the good water.

"The obstinate defence of the enemy, the breach, and the extent fired on had caused a great consumption of ammunition, so much so that it was evident there would not be sufficient to multiply breaches in the town wall, or to establish a main breach in the south double wall of the fort. Under these circumstances the officers commanding the artillery and engineers called my attention to the necessity of having recourse to escalade, to which I gave my consent, requesting, however, that the breach should form an important and principal point of attack.

"I made arrangements on the 30th for storming Jhansi, but the general action on the 1st April with the so-called army of Peishwa, which advanced across the Betwa to relieve it, caused the assault to be deferred."

Prendergast remarks: "The heat was terrible. Jhansi was fully invested, detachments held all roads from the great city; there was no cover. Cavalrymen and horses were exposed to the burning sun; 18 hours a day was the regular tour of duty for the sappers; the 1st Brigade joined headquarters on the 24th, and after that the duty of engineer officers was lighter than before.

"Sir Hugh Rose was quick to notice anything well done. A good shot by Strutt's gun, which dismantled an enemy's gun in the fort of Gurrakota and killed a leader of the enemy, pleased him much."

Then there was the incident Sir Hugh himself relates regarding Lieut. Pittman (he was wounded at Barodia), for which he received his brevet majority.

"Sir Hugh was very much opposed to officers putting men into unnecessary danger and exposing themselves needlessly. One day he expressed himself with great emphasis when a wretched little field-gun was dragged

into the open to fire at the White Tower of the citadel that was annoying the besiegers. Before the piece could be got into action it was struck twice and nearly the whole detachment killed.

"One fine morning the General caught me sitting smoking on the parapet of a battery while the men were mending the revetment. His language was forcible on that occasion also, but as the sappers were under a heavy fire I considered myself entitled to be there, and I certainly didn't sit there for my own pleasure or in bravado!

"Having just come off trench duty on the 31st March, I found a rather larger party than usual at the mess table, and Lieut. Bonus entered late, saying, 'You all seem comfortable. Do you know that there are 20,000 of the enemy close by?' He was laughed to scorn, but he persisted in the statement, adding that the sergeant on Observatory Hill had signalled to headquarters, and that he (Bonus) had ridden out with the General and seen the enemy; we had a lively party, and though there was a lurking suspicion that there was some joke in hand, the morrow being the 1st April, I gave orders that my first charger should be ready at a moment's notice before I turned in for the night (turning in meant lying down in the open air with boots and spurs on, swords and pistols handy). If it was a joke, the garrison of Jhansi joined in it, for they were firing gaily, and beating drums, and sending up rockets as if it were a time of rejoicing.

"Early in the morning the friend who slept nearest to me opened the day with uncalled-for remarks about April fools, when we heard the report of a gun to the east of us. Now the fort was to the north and north-east. In a moment 'Engineer' was brought up saddled and ready; he was 'full of beans,' as horses had but little work during siege operations. It was a lovely morning, and we skimmed the ground at a great pace till we came to the place where the Jhansi-Calpee Road passes between

two hills. Here I drew rein to view the scene. The small British force lay in front of me, with its right on the Calpee Road and the left resting on Observatory Hill; the reserve was close to me on the Calpee Road, while the enemy were in swarms as far as the eye could reach. Their position was well chosen—their first line was placed behind a ridge of rock that cropped up from the plain, affording a sort of parapet that ran at an acute angle to the Calpee Road; a 24-pr. iron gun was brought into action on the left of their line, was well concealed by the rocks, and was escorted by a regiment of the Gwallior Contingent Infantry, with colours flying. Tantia Topee was with his cavalry in reserve near the Calpee Road. As I rode forward I met the quarter-master, 24th Bombay Infantry, and he told me that the troops had been sent for suddenly by the General the previous evening, and had bivouacked where they stood to bar the Calpee-Jhansi Road to the enemy. Very soon a round shot struck an elephant close to us, another round hit some of the 24th. I was supposed to be unlucky and to attract fire, and the Colonel soon ordered me away from the regiment, attributing his losses to my bad luck! Then I rode on to find the General. The 3rd Hyderabad Contingent Cavalry, under Clerk, had twice charged the enemy's left, and the Commanding Officer, the only British officer with them, was severely wounded. Sir Hugh Rose put himself at the head of a squadron of the 14th King's Light Dragoons, the word was given for dragoons and irregulars to advance, but the Sowars having no British leaders, and having been twice repulsed, did not answer to the call. The General led us, heading towards the battery, but reined in before arriving at it. I chose a spot where it was possible to jump the ridge, and went at it; in riding up to it only the heads of men and puffs of smoke could be seen. There was infantry in front, infantry to the right, the battery in front, and bullets pouring down like hail, so that I was inclined to put my head

down to prevent their hurting my face. As I came down from the jump I found native artillerymen on my right, and Gwallior Contingent on my left ; several cut at me, but my horse and I kept our heads and went off, but it was weird work going forward with our wounds open and apparently no Britishers near, and when I reached the ground over which round shot from the batteries on the British left were bounding, I thought it was time to consider my position. Curiously enough I had not been molested after passing the first group with whom I came in contact. Turning my horse I observed a solitary dragoon coming towards me—a tall man with a fair beard ; then he threw up his hands and fell off, probably shot through the heart—the horse turned. I could not see far before me, so I determined to trust to the instinct and discipline of the riderless horse, and followed him till I met Fox of the sappers, who accompanied me to the nearest surgeon. By his advice I kept my thumb, that was only hanging by a shred of skin on the back of my hand, though I had a strong inclination to bite it off and have done with it. I think I was right in riding forward when the General pulled up, for it was most important to take the battery, and the fire was so hot that example was of value ; as Sir Hugh in his despatch said, ‘ the charge was equal in point of danger to charging a battery.’

“ Captain Need, who commanded the squadron, was most discreet in leading his men to the left of the line I adopted, and then wheeling to the right ; by this course he got better ground for charging and took the enemy in flank. It was a splendid feat, sent the Gwallior Infantry flying, and enabled the 86th to capture the guns. In the *mêlée* Need was surrounded, his horse, a low-bred one, reared up, and was so frightened that he would not move till Lieut. Leith came to the rescue and gave him a lead. Soon after Need’s charge on the enemy’s left, Prettejohn of the 14th charged the right,

and the enemy's first line was put to flight by these attacks, and the advance of the infantry followed.

"On the evening of the 31st March both the brigadiers and all the men not required in the trenches were called out to meet Tantia Topee on the Calpee Road. During the night, however, Brigadier Charles Stuart was detached to stop a hostile force that was to cross the Betwa north of the Calpee Road. Stuart engaged them after they had crossed the river, and drove them towards the Betwa ford on the Jhansi-Calpee Road, and so it occurred that as Tantia Topee's main army retired before Rose, his detached column was driven in upon him, and as he retreated Sir Hugh Rose was in his rear and Stuart on his flank; three positions were in succession taken up, and from each he was driven. In this action Tantia lost 1500 men and 28 guns, and no relief whatever was given to Jhansi."

"The British force, after a troubled night and fighting from dawn (4 or 5 a.m.) till 2 in the afternoon in the intensely hot weather, was exhausted, but the Hyderabad Cavalry pursued the enemy till dark. I have heard some of my seniors speak disparagingly of the action as the work of a maniac, but it has always seemed to me to show genius throughout. The vigour of the siege was unimpaired; although Rose's third line and part of the second were sent off at night to meet a new danger, they were present and in the best possible position for completing the victory over Tantia's main body on the morrow. The attack by cavalry of infantry and guns in a strong natural position was unconventional; Rose's favourite brigadier and many of his best infantry were absent, and the position might have been strongly held against an ordinary attack; the charge of cavalry acted as a surprise; the mutineers swore that not men but 300 devils on horseback had attacked them; some threw down their arms and fled, and before the terror inspired by the cavalry had subsided the infantry advancing seized the guns and the position, and the

enemy's line was forced back till, by the flank attack of Stuart's brigade, the retreat was changed into a rout.

"On the 2nd April preparations were made for the assault on Jhansi; a breach had been effected in the town wall south-east of the citadel, which, however, was retrenched on the night of the 2nd-3rd; the columns of attack were drawn up facing it, before daybreak, on 3rd. The signal for assault was given from Major Gall's column, which was under orders to make a false attack on the west front of the town, while the Madras and Bombay Sappers, 3rd Bombay Europeans, and Hyderabad Infantry, comprising the right attack, were told off to escalade the city wall on the right of the breach; and the Royal Engineers and 86th County Downs and 25th Bombay N.I. assaulted the breach and escaladed the city wall adjoining it. The right attack failed, but the left attack was admirably carried out; an entrance was effected through the breach, and the engineers made good a footing by escalade; the troops of the right attack followed them through the breach, and the columns advanced through the streets towards the gate of the citadel. House after house was taken, there was hard fighting for possession of the palace, and the stables were held obstinately, but the British force was victorious everywhere without the citadel; even for that, a dash was made by a detachment of the 86th, but it was too strong, and nearly all that gallant party were killed. Fighting continued all day in the city. In the afternoon an attempt to escape from the citadel was made by a great body of the rebels; they got out from the west side of the fort and reached a rocky hill before the troops in pursuit could attack them, but there they were attacked by the horse artillery and 24th Bombay N.I. and were all killed by nightfall; but Lieut. Parke and many of his men fell on that rugged, rocky hill.

"My position on that day was very painful. I was left weak and wounded in my tent about half a mile

from the breach. I heard the terrible fire going on when the troops were preparing to assault ; round shot intended for the columns came blundering through the camp. I was too tired to move, could see nothing, and there was no one to keep me informed of what was going on ; it was horribly exciting, listening to the din which seemed neither to advance nor retire. At last an orderly came in to say that ‘ Lieut. Dick was killed,’ immediately afterwards, ‘ Lieut. Meiklejohn killed, Lieut. Bonus killed, Lieut. Fox killed.’ All of these were my messmates ; presently a tall, gaunt figure with a bandaged head, but without sword or helmet, walked past my tent door—this was my friend Bonus. After a little he came to me with broken head and broken knees, full of wrath because he had been hit on the head by a stick or a stone, ‘ instead of being shot as a soldier should be ! ’

“ He was leading a party up a ladder, and when at the top received the blow that knocked him off, and was very fortunate to have no worse injuries than a head cut and bruised, a few teeth loosened, and chipped knees. However, he explained that when he came down he thought he was killed, and lay still till the enemy took to throwing stones and other disagreeable things at him, then he thought he would try and get up, and found that he was able to totter away, though he was half dazed and good for nothing.

“ Meiklejohn ran up his ladder, was dragged into the fort, and cut to pieces. Dick was shot while stepping off the ladder on to the fort wall. Fox was shot in the neck at the foot of the ladder, but lived to hunt and shoot and enjoy himself. The sappers covered themselves with glory. Charles Goodfellow, the only survivor of the Bombay Sappers, was the hero of the right attack, and his detachment did their duty nobly and lost a greater proportion of men than any other corps present. Young Dartnell of the 86th, on the left attack, had a narrow escape ; he led his men up a ladder

on the left attack, and jumped into the midst of the enemy. The ladder broke under the weight of the men who were following him, and he was left alone in the town till extricated from his position by Lieut. Webber of the engineers, who came up by another scaling ladder. The brave ensign, finding himself alone, with no means of defence but a regulation sword, tried to get his back to the wall, but his foot slipped, and he had to defend his head with his arm, which was cruelly hacked; one man fired a musket at him at the distance of about a foot, but the plate of his sword-belt turned the bullet and he was only slightly bruised. Colonel Turnbull and Drs. Stack and Miller were among the killed that day. Some time after my visit from Bonus a stream of dhoolies set through the camp; in them were the men of the 86th and 3rd Europeans who had been blown up when a magazine in the palace was exploded; they must have suffered agonies, and their cries were heart-rending.

“Street fighting went on all that day and all the next; no quarter was given. During the night, 4th-5th April, the Rani of Jhansi and the remainder of her troops managed to escape. It was fortunate that they gave up the contest, for the citadel was very strong, and the British force was well-nigh exhausted, for the heat was intense and the duties of the troops had been excessive during the operations.

“The engineering works were well carried out. Colonel Boileau on this, as on all other occasions, placed the breaching batteries exactly in the right position, for opposite the breach there was a strip of rock so hard that the builder of the work evidently left the excavation of the ditch through it to a more convenient season, which season never arrived, and there was therefore a passage across the ditch ready made for the assaulting columns.

“Sir Hugh Rose, as soon as Jhansi had fallen, directed attention to the sanitary requirements of the fort and



GENERAL SIR H. PRENDERGAST WINNING THE VICTORIA CROSS.

From a picture by Chevulien T. W. Desangès.

city, which were sadly needed; the sick were taken to hospitals within the walls. Clerk, Fox, Simpson, Cruickshank, and I took possession of a banker's house in the city, where we lived for three weeks."

It would seem desirable at this point to introduce the remarks made by Sir Hugh Rose in his dispatch regarding the eminently satisfactory charges at the Betwa which completely routed the enemy.

"Whilst the enemy were suffering from the fire of the troop (Captain Lightfoot's) and battery, I directed Captain Prettejohn, 14th Dragoons, to charge with his troop, supported by Captain MacMahon, 14th Light Dragoons, the enemy's flank, and I charged myself ~~their~~ left with Captain Need's troop, 14th Light Dragoons, supported by a strong troop of Hyderabad Cavalry. Both of the attacks succeeded, throwing the whole of the enemy's first line into confusion and forcing them to retire. I beg to do justice to Captain Need's troop; they charged with steady gallantry the left, composed of the rebel's best troops, Velaities and sepoys, who, throwing themselves back on the right and resting the flanks of their new line four or five deep on two rocky knolls, received the charge with a heavy fire of musketry. We broke through this dense line, which flung itself among the rocks, and bringing our right shoulders forward took the front line in reverse and routed it. I believe I may say that what Captain Need's troop did on this occasion was equal to breaking a square of infantry, and the result was most successful, because the charge turned the enemy's position and decided in a great measure the fate of the day. I have the honour to recommend to His Excellency's favourable consideration Captain Need and his devoted troop and Lieut. Leith, who saved Captain Need's life, for which I have ventured to recommend him for the Victoria Cross.

"The officers whom circumstances called prominently into action, and who, profiting by the opportunity, did

valuable service, were : Brigadier Stuart, Commanding Brigade, and the officers whom he mentions ; Lieut.-Col. Turnbull, Bombay H.A. ; Captain Lightfoot, Bombay Artillery, Captain Need and Lieut. Leith, 14th Light Dragoons ; Lieut. Armstrong, 3rd Bombay Europeans, and Lieut. Prendergast, Madras Sappers, who on various occasions under my eye has distinguished himself by his merit and gallantry, as devoted as they were unostentatious."

It may be added that Lieut. Fox, of Madras Sappers, was specially mentioned for gallant conduct at the battle of the Betwa, when he killed eight men with his own hand in the general action. Prendergast wrote the following remarks regarding his experiences : " I have often been asked, ' How do you feel when you are wounded ? ' Some people expect you to say that the excitement of action is such that you don't feel your wounds till afterwards. A wound in action is like any other wound—the severity of it in a measure depends upon its locality ; a poke in the ribs with a finger does not hurt much, but a poke in the eye is a different matter. A man who is shot is generally more frightened than a man who is cut, that is, the nerves are more affected by the shock. I have seen brave men cry about bullet wounds, and others laugh at sword cuts probably quite as severe. When I was shot in the body at Mundisore I felt the same sort of sensation as if a man had hit me hard with a stick ; it was not very painful, but the wound was close to the heart, and I was very anxious to know whether it would kill me. When I was hit in the arm at Ratghur the bullet stung more, but I did not even report myself wounded—the injury was slight. At the Betwa the sword wounds were exquisitely painful ; there was a great wound in the upper arm that severed the biceps and deltoid, the thumb was nearly off, and there was a wound on the index finger. In the field nothing was done. I had some port wine from a tin pot that was flavoured with camphor and was

nauseous to a man faint with loss of blood, and I was then carried 2 or 3 miles to my tent. Most of the officers were absent on duty, but at last a surgeon came from the trenches to see to me; he was apparently nervous, for he puffed a pipe of coarse tobacco in my face while he was looking me over, and then strapped the big wound with diaculum plaister. As the wound continued to bleed I pointed it out to him, and he then applied a tourniquet which spoilt the fit of the cheeks of the wound, but he had not time to look at the other wounds. He was a gallant fellow, and was killed in action three days later. Some hours later our own surgeon (Dr. Lowe) came to see me: he took off the tourniquet, removed the plaister, tore open the wound, fitted the sides together, and sewed up the wound; then he washed the thumb, put it on neatly, and lashed it on to a splint, and did what was necessary to the finger. He made beautiful cures of all of them, but I had a bad day of torture till he took me in hand, or rather till he had completed his operations.

"I was fortunate in one respect in the battle of the Betwa. It was the first hand-to-hand conflict in which I had been engaged since I possessed metal reins, and my leather reins were cut through in the charge, so that I should have been helpless if I had not used the iron chains.

"I commenced the campaign with leather reins. The commanding engineer would not allow me materials for making chain reins from the engineer stores, but when looking through a little fort that was to be blown up, one day in March, I came upon a survey chain which the company smith soon fashioned into chain reins. My horse's wound was not severe."

"Whilst at Jhansi, Fox, Simpson, and I were invalided, but the difficulty was to get to England, as the country in rear of us was by no means subjugated, and defenceless sick men could not have travelled to Bombay. The 1st Brigade marched on the 25th April for Calpee;

a few days later it was followed by the 2nd. Our comrades of the 86th invited us to go with them, offered us their dhoolies, and asked us to mess with them ; so we started with them, but at the end of the first day's march the brigadier observed us and we had to give reasons for being in his camp. We declared that we were ordered to Europe, and that we would give no trouble, and got his greatest friend, an officer of the 14th Light Dragoons, who remembered us in Persia, to intercede for us ; but nothing would persuade the brigadier that marching east from Jhansi was the shortest way to Europe, or induce him to incur the responsibility of harbouring three sick officers in his camp, so there was no alternative ; we had to turn out at midday in the hottest weather, without escort, and return to Jhansi.

“The disappointment told on our spirits somewhat, for it was a dull existence living on the flat roof of a native house in a city of which all the male inhabitants had been killed and most of the women had migrated. But one fine day a bold Lieut. Dick of the 3rd Bombay Cavalry halted at Jhansi with his convoy of a mile or more of commissariat carts guarded by 40 sabres and 25 infantry ; when we told him our tale of woe he at once offered to take us to Sir Hugh Rose's camp, for which he was bound.

“One night the head of our column came in contact with the enemy, but they were not inclined to fight, and Dick, with his great convoy, was not in condition to bring on a contest, so we separated ; our loss was only one or two troopers wounded. However, information was received that there had been a grand action during the day a few miles from us, and that large bodies of the enemy might be expected to be moving about the country ; so the convoy was parked, or laagered, as we say nowadays, and the bivouac was kept as quiet as possible (the fight alluded to must have been the action at Koonch). Hearing a wounded man calling for water, I sent my little supply, a soda bottle, to him, and my silver cup ; but the patient was

a Hindoo, and there was only one man in the detachment of his caste, so his friend had to be brought in from his picquet to draw and give him water ; this is a serious inconvenience of having men with caste prejudices.

“ The undesirability of using entire horses as chargers was also brought home to us this night, as the neighing that commenced when the baggage pony mares came up precluded all idea of silence at a time when we did not wish to be seen or heard.

“ I met that wounded trooper some years afterwards, when I was reconnoitring in Abyssinia, and he gave me a feed for my horse, which wanted it badly, and he was glad to meet a man who remembered that uncomfortable night.

“ On the following day we camped with the sappers of Sir Hugh Rose’s force, and marched with them to Golowlee, near Calpee, on the 15th May ; on that day the rearguard was attacked, and every day till the 22nd the enemy gave us no rest. The heat was intense, the troops were disturbed by alarms and attacks, and if the artillery took their horses to water they generally had to return at a gallop. On the 21st Colonel Maxwell, who commanded a brigade on the left bank of the Jumna, began to shell the fort of Calpee, and during the following night sent two companies of the Connaught Rangers and his camel corps to the General’s aid ; on the morning of the 22nd the enemy attacked in great force and with resolution. Sir Hugh’s right rested on the river, and the enemy tried hard to turn his left, but in vain. A very determined attack was also made on his right, especially on the batteries that were in position ; the infantry had gradually been drawn into the conflict on the left of the guns, and there was neither support, reserve, nor escort when a brilliant attack was made on them. Brigadier Stuart had been attracted to the battery, and the enemy were so close that he was dismounting from his horse with the

intention of leading the gunners in a charge. The horses of all his staff had been shot, when, by the last salvo, the leader of the enemy, a tall man dressed in black, was laid low, and his followers lost confidence. At this critical moment the camel corps, under Captain (now General Sir John) Ross, came up on their flank, dismounted, poured in a volley, and charged; the whole line advanced, the action of Golowlee was won, and Calpee was taken on the morrow.

“Fox and I loitered about outside our tent in the morning watching the enemy’s advance to turn our left, then our rockets were brought into action within a quarter of a mile of where we were; warned by a friend that the things were buzzing about in all directions, we retired to our tent. After a time a messenger came from the sick officers of the 86th, inviting us to the mess tent and warning us to bring our arms, as they proposed to make a last stand in the tent. We were carried over with our swords and guns to make a day of it. This was just before the attack on the batteries. It was rather a ghastly entertainment; one young fellow was weeping bitterly. We all knew that he was as brave as any one, but his nerves were shaken by illness. In the evening orders came to shift the camp. There were not dhoolies enough for all the officers, and as I felt pretty fit, I gave mine to a friend who seemed worse off than myself, and elected to take a seat on a bullock cart on the top of some baggage. It was not comfortable, the darkness was coming on, and there was no certainty that the cart was going in the right direction; but when a cart in front broke down, and those following got jammed in a narrow pass, it was time to dismount, so I walked on till, when I was utterly weary, I descried a tent—a large one. On looking in I saw the Governor-General’s agent, Sir Robert Hamilton, was at dinner with a large party; however, I crept in unobserved, and lay in a corner, fortunately observed by none. It was rather tantalizing,

as I was weary and faint, hungry and thirsty ; however, I had a good rest, and then wandered on past the dragoons who were at dinner in the open. By this time I was so exhausted that I wanted nothing but to find my tent, and go to sleep. There was a cold wind blowing, and great was the comfort of getting under cover ! ”

Calpee was entered on the 23rd May, and the work which had been allotted to the Central India Force was now completed.

Sir Hugh Rose described the enemy's tactics of “ unceasingly harassing his troops and forcing them into the sun ; large hordes of cavalry hanging on his position, retiring when attacked, but ready to fall on escorts sent to a distance for forage, the want of which was the cause of serious losses. Out of 36 men of the 14th Light Dragoons, forming part of one forage escort, 17 were brought back to camp in dhoolies after two hours' exposure to the sun. A similar amount of sun-sickness had prostrated the 25th Bombay N.I. on the march to Muttra. The prostration of the whole force had become a matter of arithmetical calculation : ‘ so many hours' sun laid low so many men. The thermometer stood at 118° in the shade. A great proportion of officers and men were ill. The force for months had been making the strongest physical exertions with broken sleep, or no sleep at all ; watching the camp half the night, and marching the other half to avoid the sun ; often all day without a rest, fighting, or on rearguard, or reconnaissance in a burning sun. On the march from the west to the centre of India, country tracks and unbridged nullahs with very few exceptions were the communications. The consequence of this was that one deep nullah often detained troops, baggage, guns, and rearguard for hours in the sun, while the sappers were making it passable. Bad roads and an unorganized system of transport and supply were the causes why the rations were sometimes in arrears, and the troops on these occasions performed hard duties,

or fought all day on insufficient nourishment. The sappers were constantly employed in making roads passable throughout the march, and occasionally hauling heavy guns through difficulties."

At Calpee the Central India Force was about to be broken up, and Sir Hugh Rose issued the following general order to be read at the head of every corps and detachment of the force :

"Soldiers! You have marched more than 1000 miles, and taken more than 100 guns; you have forced your way through mountains, passes, and intricate jungle, and over rivers; you have captured the strongest fort, and beaten the enemy, no matter what the odds, wherever you met him; you have restored extensive districts to the Government, and peace and order now reign where before for twelve months were tyranny and rebellion. You have done all this, and never had a check. I thank you with all sincerity for your bravery, your devotion, and your discipline. When you first marched, I told you that you as British soldiers had more than enough of courage for the work that was before you; but this courage without discipline was of no avail, and I exhorted you to let discipline be your watchword. You have attended to my order. In hardships, in temptation, and in dangers, you have obeyed your General, and you never left your ranks. You have fought against the strong, and you have protected the rights of the weak and defenceless, of foes as well as of friends. I have seen you in the ardour of the combat preserve and place children out of harm's way. This is the discipline of English soldiers, and this it is which has brought you triumphant from the shores of Western India to the waters of the Jumna, and establishes without doubt that you will find no place to equal the glory of your arms."

Owing to the outbreak at Gwallior it became necessary for Sir Hugh Rose's force to again take the field, but as Prendergast left shortly for Cawnpore on

his way home, it is unnecessary to allude to the march on Gwallior, except to remark that it was completely successful.

Sir Hugh Rose marched on the 8th June from Calpee, and on the 19th the Gwallior States were restored to their Prince.

It may here be noted that before the battle of the Betwa the sappers' mess had eight members, but it was then reduced to two.

Lieut. Prendergast, Madras Engineers, wounded in cavalry charge of 1st April; Lieut. Fox, Madras Sappers, wounded in storm of Jhansi, as well as Lieut. Bonus, Bombay Engineers; while Lieut. Meiklejohn and Dick, Bombay Engineers, were killed; and Captain Brown, Madras Sappers, was ill. Those unimpaired were Lieuts. Goodfellow, Bombay Engineers, and Gordon, Madras Engineers.

The following extract of a letter from Sir Hugh Rose will show how highly he appreciated the services of the company:—

“I have already praised the excellent conduct of the B Company, Madras Sappers and Miners, but I now beg leave to request most respectfully His Lordship the Commander-in-Chief in India to have the goodness to convey to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Army the high sense which I entertained of the excellent service which they performed under my orders. They lived on the very best terms with their English comrades. No work was too dangerous or too difficult for the gallantry and devotion of this company which has been twenty months on foreign service. On account of the great length of hard service which the company had gone through, it was to return to Madras from Calpee, but on Gwallior falling into the hands of the rebels the company again took the field with the utmost alacrity and again earned, not only my sincere approbation, but that also of the Central India Field Force for its unvarying gallantry and zeal.”

The officers who were rewarded were—

Major Boileau, Brevets of Lieut.-Colonel and Colonel; Captain Brown, Madras Fusiliers, Brevet of Major; Lieut. H. N. D. Prendergast, Brevet of Major and V.C.; Assistant-Surgeon T. Lowe, Brigade Surgeon; Subadar Seeloway, Sirdar Bahadur; Jemadar Ali Khan, Sirdar Bahadur.

And the following native officers, N.C.O.'s, and privates were admitted to the Order of Merit :—

Subadar Seeloway, Jemadar Appavoo, Naique Pichamootoo, Naique Narrainsammy, Private Savathean, Private Appasammy, Private Chinnatumbi, for conspicuous gallantry at Ratghur, Jhansi, and Morar.

Lieut. Prendergast was allowed to count as service for retiring pension fifteen months' sick leave, and Lieut. Fox was similarly allowed eighteen months.

At Calpee, Prendergast and his comrades used as a mess house a cool Mohammedan tomb. "One morning, at breakfast time, Simpson appeared with his hair cut and brushed, and a beautiful suit of European clothes, and all marvelled. Some accused him of shamming; frivolous young men pinched his new coat, when our old friend Simpson was carried in in his chair, with scanty and ill-washed clothing as usual. He had a bullet wound in the knee and throat, so he could neither walk nor talk comfortably. The apparition was his twin brother, exactly like him.

"Colonel Maxwell kindly forwarded a small party of wounded officers to Cawnpore, and the elder Simpson was the officer of Jowanna Horse which escorted us.

"On arrival at Cawnpore the wounded Simpson was taken to his brother's house, and as he sat in the verandah the men of the regiment crowded round full of sympathy, thinking that he was their own officer who had been hit. At Cawnpore the hotel was so full that there was not room to spread one's blankets to lie on the floor, but the sappers kindly made me their guest, and I stayed some days with them, as it was

difficult to get away. We thence travelled in dâk gharries, and were detained by the Civil Authorities at Allahabad and Benares because the roads were unsafe. We had no adventures, but one evening before starting we had reliable information that there was a camp of the rebels on the road some 7 or 8 miles ahead. We were a party of four: each had his own carriage, but on this occasion we determined to travel two and two through the dangerous zone; so, having loaded our guns and pistols, we sat back to back in the doorways. It must be remembered that the carriages were planked from end to end, the baggage was under the planks and on the roof, and the doors slid in grooves, so that you could sit looking to the right and left of the road with your feet outside, and thus we arranged ourselves. Every coachman had a bugle for the purpose of warning sleepy cart drivers to make way, but the coachmen were enjoined on no account to sound their bugles, and were ordered to drive quietly, so as to keep their horses as fresh as possible till the order should be given to gallop. We observed lights ahead on both sides of the road, and we were conscious that the excitement was about to commence, the drivers also felt it, and before we could say 'Don't!' the four bugles were braying as loud as the coachmen could make them, and the horses were driven at full gallop. It was all done contrary to orders, but as no one was hurt we said little, but at the next post-house turned each into his own coach and slept the sleep of the just. We were all cripples, and very ill, so that we couldn't have stood a long fight. At Calcutta we found that many were frightened, and the authorities were said to be panic-stricken. The new European Cavalry Regiments had just been raised, consisting of light men for light cavalry work. They had the reputation of being the sweepings of the English gaols; they were called the 'Dumpies.' On arrival at Calcutta, they took kindly to robbery and garroting the mild Hindoo at night,

and produced such a panic amongst the evilly disposed Orientals, as quite counteracted the weakness of the British Authorities. As many of the men could not ride, and trained horses were not available for those who could, the men were much better employed in their nefarious pursuits in Calcutta than they could have been on military duty elsewhere. Such were the rumours I heard. I stayed in a friend's house in Ali-pore and had no desire or opportunity to test the truth of them ! ”

A few remarks regarding Colonel Boileau, Commanding Engineer, throughout the whole of the campaign may not be out of place.

“ He was not remarkable for smartness or for military administrative qualifications, and he was not a dashing horseman, but his success as a military engineer was undoubted, and, considering the great ability he displayed in conducting the sieges of Dhar, Ratghur, and Jhansi, it is remarkable that he was not nominated C.B. at the close of the campaign. On one occasion he compared the conduct of the Royal Engineers with that of the Indian Engineers, and said that on his going to the trenches we would be met by Captain (now General Sir Bevan) Edwards and the adjutant of the Royal Engineers, smartly dressed, with a salute and a ‘ Have you any orders, sir ? ’ whereas Lieut. Bonus of the Indian Engineers, further on, almost in rags, would slouch up with a ‘ Hullo ! Boileau, what’s up ! ’ The Royal Engineers had the advantage of a soldierly commandant and adjutant, and had not been in the field nearly so long as the Indian Engineers, and they happened to be a more showy lot than the others. The batteries thrown up by the Royal Engineers in the same way were models of neatness, but the native sappers worked many more hours in the twenty-four, and their work was thoroughly practical, good enough for its purpose, but no time was wasted on extra finish. The Royal Engineers were rather kept in lavender, because one of the companies

had been used in another part of India as ordinary infantry, and a number of the men were killed or wounded in work that linesmen could have done as well, and orders from headquarters enjoined that the sappers were to be used cautiously, as they were specialists.

“When Calpee was taken, the buildings in the fort were abominably dirty, so Colonel Boileau arranged that fatigue parties should clean and whitewash the walls. Soon after he met a party of Royal Engineers being marched out with their rifles, and on asking where they were going, he was told that there were no brushes for whitewashing, so they were going to shoot pigs to obtain the bristles for the whitewashing ! Whereas, on going into the fort, he found that Chowrimootoo had torn off a bit of his turban, wrapped it round a stick, and had done a lot of whitewashing already. The Royal Engineers had had the stimulus of the Crimean War, and were generally, therefore, more military than the Indian Engineer officers.”

CHAPTER IV

EMPLOYMENT, 1858-67

DURING his two years' sick leave in England, Prendergast was constantly on the look out for fresh opportunities of obtaining new experience in the art of war. In 1859, Austria fought against France and Italy, and as Sir Hugh Rose had often held up the Austrians as models, Prendergast became anxious to join them on service, and, with this view, travelled to Vienna *via* Cologne, but for political reasons he was not allowed to serve. Prendergast states that "Prussian sympathy was with Austria. The 3rd Cuirassiers at Cologne were very friendly, though I had no introduction to them; they talked politics with a freedom that surprised me, as five years before, when I had travelled on the Rhine, during the European War, they were afraid to give their opinions; but on this occasion, as I was sitting at supper at a military ball between a Cuirassier and a line officer, I remember their saying they hoped before a year was over that we should be clinking our glasses together at Paris. Though only a young subaltern, I was presented to officers of high rank, but the Cuirassiers, who were all nobles, introduced me to no engineers, as the latter apparently were of different caste."

In the year 1860, when Sir Hope Grant's expedition was about to sail for China, Prendergast again applied for permission to go out and join the expedition, but this also was not allowed, as he was hardly considered sufficiently recovered from his severe wounds. In October 1859, he had the honour to receive his Victoria

* Cross from the hands of Her Majesty Queen Victoria at Windsor Castle.

“It was a foggy, gloomy day, and Horse Guards and Foot Guards were drawn up on parade. The officers who were honoured on this occasion were Major Mark Walker, Sir Charles Gough, W. F. McDonnell, and R. L. Mangles of the Civil Service, and half a dozen privates.

“The recipients had to advance a few steps in line towards Her Majesty, which we did in most slovenly style, and then each in succession stepped forward, and Her Most Gracious Majesty attached the decoration to our breasts.”

The official notification regarding the recommendation of Lieut. H. N. D. Prendergast for the Victoria Cross was as follows :—

“For conspicuous bravery on 21st November 1857, at Mundisore, in saving the life of Lieut. G. Dew, 14th Light Dragoons, at the risk of his own, by attempting to cut down a Velaitie who covered him (Lieut. Dew) with his piece from only a few paces to the rear. Lieut. Prendergast was wounded in this affair by the discharge of the piece, and would probably have been cut down had not the rebel been killed by Major Orr. He also distinguished himself by his gallantry in the actions at Ratghur and the Betwa when he was severely wounded.”

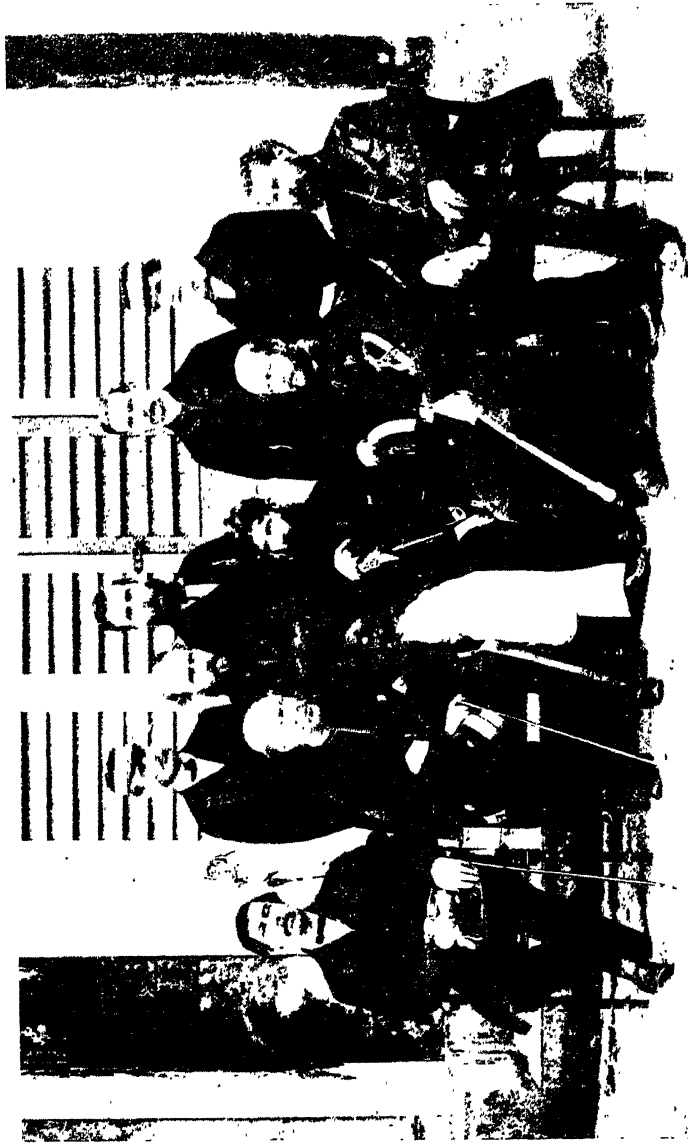
Sir Hugh Rose in forwarding his recommendation of this officer states: “Lieut. Prendergast, Madras Engineers, was specially mentioned by Brigadier (now Sir Charles) Stuart for the gallant act at Mundisore, when he was severely wounded; secondly, he was specially mentioned by me when acting voluntarily as my aide-de-camp in the action before besieging Ratghur on the Beema River for gallant conduct—his horse was killed on that occasion; thirdly, at the action of the Betwa, he again voluntarily acted as my aide-de-camp, and distinguished himself by his bravery in the charge which I made with Captain Need’s troop, His

Majesty's 14th Light Dragoons, against the left of the so-called Peishwa's army, under Tantia Topee. He was severely wounded on the occasion."

While at home he had the opportunity of seeing his father who had lately retired from the Madras Civil Service, and had settled in Cheltenham.

On return to India in the latter part of 1860, Prendergast served for a few months as assistant engineer in the P.W.D. at Vellore under his brother, Lieut. Hew L. Prendergast, who was at that time district engineer of North Ascot; thence he was transferred to the Raidroog Range of the Bellary District under Captain John F. Fischer, who wished to employ him in elaborating his projects for water supply. However, this was not permitted, and he passed his time in attending to the repairs of roads and tanks, etc. From Bellary he was transferred to Saint Thomas' Mount, near Madras, where he had charge of the military buildings of three cantonments, and the irrigation works and roads of the subdivision, besides Government House and grounds at Guindy. At this time he was under Captain Frank Moberly. "This was a remarkably pleasant billet. The Madras Artillery had a fine mess, and an excellent band. There was hunting and cricket; plenty of society. The work was sufficient, but not too laborious, and my charge was so compact that by keeping three horses, I was able to do my work without going into camp. There are not many monuments of my skill as an engineer.

"All that I can remember are some offices for the artillery ranges of gunsheds, the reserve powder magazine of the Madras Army, the arrangements for lighting, which were good and original. On my return from the Burmese campaign, twenty-two years afterwards, I stayed with Sir Mountstuart Grant Duff, the Governor, and slept in a room which I had built when a subaltern, and I found that a tealery, which I constructed for Sir Wm. Denison, had been converted into a swimming



GROUP OF OFFICERS OF ROYAL ENGINEERS, 1864.

FROM LEFT TO RIGHT.—Capt. W. Chrystie; Lieut.-Col. J. C. Anderson, c.s.i.; Lieut. D. H. Trail, Lieut. J. N. Manwaring, Lieut. A. R. Edgcombe.
Lieut. H. N. D. Prendergast, v.c.; Lieut.-Col. G. V. Winscom; Capt. A. S. Moberley.

'bath by one of his successors. A fine pigsty that was made for the gubernatorial porkers was condemned because the inhabitants died of liver, and the bailiff vowed the stone floors had made them ill. As I have since observed that pigs can be clean and live, I am convinced that the pigs were killed for the bailiff's table during the Governor's absence. However, at the time, the story of the stone floor disturbing the pigs' liver was believed, and I was looked on as a porcicide!

"When at Bellary, I was called upon to pass an examination in Telugu, my examiners were the judge and the collector, and I was ignominiously spun! The collector I had not met before. He was very polite, was so glad to meet me, and delighted that he had had no reports against me. I was rather surprised, and inquired why there should be any reports adverse to me. He said there were frequent reports against the district engineer, who shot the poultry of the villagers, and vowed that the people would give him no provisions in the district though he was always willing to pay for them. 'I hope you have had no such difficulties, Mr. Prendergast.' I told him that on my first visit to Parwadevanhulli, my headquarters, the head man would do nothing for me, but I soon came to terms with him. 'Ah! really, and how did you do that?'

"I subjected him to public opinion. 'Yes! but how?'

"Parwadevanhulli is a wretched little village on the banks of a river. My predecessor had lived in a mud hut with a thatched roof, and began to build a bridge, but he died, and the bridge is not finished yet. The hut had half its roof still standing when I joined. However, in answer to the collector's question, I said I tied the head man to a tree in the middle of the village, and kept him there till my wants were supplied. Did that have the desired effect? No! Next day I could get nothing, so I tied him up again, and when I marched next day, he was lashed to the back of a cart, and had to

walk to the next camping ground, and after that he was very polite to me.'

"I used always to have the villagers paid in my presence for supplies, and never could make out why there was an objection in that district to bringing supplies, but the people seemed to be hostile, the children were frightened at the sight of a white man, and the dogs used to bark at him. As for my other examiner, the judge, we travelled together to Kurnool for the races. He was totally ignorant of Telugu, and I had to translate for him all the way. They examined me again a few months later, and I passed with credit !

"While I was assistant engineer at St. Thomas' Mount, a camp of exercise was proposed, and I obtained six months' leave to be present. They were uncommon in those days. Long before I started, the camp at Lahore was changed into a campaign called the 'Um-beyla,' in which Sir Neville Chamberlain commanded.

"On the death of Lord Elgin, Sir William Denison, Governor of Madras, went to Calcutta as Acting Governor-General, and he kindly invited me to go in his steamer to Calcutta."

Prendergast had provided himself with the best maps, and was actually better supplied than Sir William. He visited Benares, Allahabad, Cawnpore, Lucknow, Agra, and Delhi, etc., but the campaign was over before he could reach headquarters. He met Sir Hugh Rose the day after the affair at Shahgudi, and had the opportunity to see something of frontier life.

"During the last days of Lord Elgin, fortune had not favoured the British. Sir Neville Chamberlain's march through the Boneyr country had incensed the tribesmen, and the clans beyond the border were in arms. Sir Neville's force was roughly treated, and could make no progress. The Council were panic-stricken, and wished to withdraw from the contest.

"Sir William Denison on his arrival at Calcutta overruled the Council, pointed out that the Commander-in-

Chief was the person to get them out of their difficulties, so Sir Hugh Rose was addressed. Twenty thousand men were at once set in motion, and in a fortnight the enemy was beaten, and the village of Mulka, their stronghold, was destroyed.

“But for Sir William Denison’s determination, and Sir Hugh Rose’s prompt action, the British Empire would have been severely shaken. It is worthy of remark that it was the Punjab Government which began the war without sufficient means to complete it; that the Supreme Government were afraid to deal courageously with the situation, and that India was extricated from a most unenviable situation by the Governor of Madras who, however, was sternly censured by the Secretary of State for going against his Council. The censure was afterwards removed when the wisdom of the Acting Governor-General’s conduct was proved by the inexorable logic of facts. The Umbeyla campaign afforded strong arguments in favour of placing the Punjab frontier force under the orders of the Commander-in-Chief of India instead of under the direct control of the Punjab Government. It might also, I think, be quoted as an instance of the utility of retaining governors in Madras and Bombay, for the Supreme Government, comprising the ablest members of the Indian Civil Service, being acted on by the same accounts of events and the same influences, were prepared to make a grievous error, and were only saved from so doing by the intervention of Denison, the Governor of Madras, a Lieut.-Colonel of Royal Engineers, a man of sound sense, strong will, and inflexible determination, whose mind had not been disturbed and thrown off its balance by the details of military checks and difficulties in the time of emergency.”

In January 1864, Prendergast visited Peshawar and Attock. On the 10th he lunched with Simpson, 4th Bombay Cavalry, and rode to the city afterwards. He thus describes his visit: “The bazaars are picturesque,

more like those of Cairo than of purely Indian cities, and the diversity of races also resembles that visible in Cairo. Peshawar's bazaars are famed for swords of Damascus, or steel like that from Damascus. Poshteens or cloaks of furs are brought in by the mountaineers; horses from Cabul, carpets from Persia; women from Cashmir; grapes, pears, and walnuts from beyond the Khyber Pass; felts and numdahs from Cabul and Russia. Russian leather and Russian gold can all be seen in the principal streets. The men who accompany the camel caravans differ almost as much from one another as the goods they bring with them. 'Afghans, or, as they term themselves, 'Beni Israel,' abound; but they don't like being called Jews, though the type of feature is Jewish. They eat the Paschal Lamb, and have many of the Israelitish customs, and the Pushtoo language, which they speak, resembles the Hebrew in construction, and the inflexions of nouns and participles.

"The Gol Kutri or missionary establishment is one of the lions of the city, in it are schools, etc. Upwards of 50 Afghans profess Christianity, and more than 200 persons attend the schools."

On 11th January, Prendergast called on Sir Hugh Rose by appointment, and introduced the subject of pontoons. "The Chief is well up in it, listened to my objections to Borajo's trestles, and wanted to put me on a committee about them. Colonel Paton has the papers at Pindi; I am referred to him for them, and am invited to write something for the committee to see. Sir Hugh Rose's idea is to organize a pontooner corps, with standing bridges on all the Punjab rivers; the boats and superstructure of all to be alike, and more scientific than those at present in use, which are simply the boats of the country. In case of service these pontooners would be drafted off to accompany any column that might require to throw a bridge across a river. An immense deal of work is required for the bridges, first when the floods come, and the stream



GROUP OF CRICKETERS AT MADRAS IN 1864

FROM LEFT TO RIGHT.—Now Col. Kenney-Herbert; late Col. J. Filgate, R.E.; late Gen. Sir Harry Prendergast; now Sir P. P. Hutchins, K.C.S.I.; Rev. Wynne, and J. Lee-Warner, Esq., M.C.S.

expands from 100 yards in breadth to 2 or 3 miles, and afterwards, as the water falls, roads have to be made over the sandy or shingly bed of the river."

The next day he breakfasted with the Chief, and met Lord George Paget, Colonels Chichester and Vaughan, and Captain Burn. "There was a good deal of talk about rifled weapons. All agreed that the Armstrong guns and Minie rifles are too pretty for real use in the field.

"The state of affairs between the British and the tribes on the north-west frontier is simply that the former are always at peace with the latter, as shown by the free access and egress allowed to all foreigners conveying anything they please without question, let, or hindrance; and that the tribes are always at war with the British is proved by their murdering every European who crosses the frontier; by their making raids into British territory, and making roads near their country unsafe to travel without an escort of cavalry; by stealing horses from Peshawar, however strictly guarded; by cattle lifting wherever they get a chance; and by refusing to give satisfaction for or punish the perpetrators of injuries to British subjects. Bullocks have been stolen from the Chief's camp, and a horse was taken from Colonel Probyn's stable two nights ago. A hole was dug under the wall, a ramp cut outside, and the horse walked off in the face of the regiment! Every stable in Peshawar is strongly built, locked, and chained."

At this time there was a question as to whether Sir Hugh Rose's force in Central India in 1858 were entitled to share in the Kirwee prize money taken by General Sir George Whitlock. The question arose as to whether the two forces were acting in concert. Prendergast remarks: "The proof of these two forces acting in concert is shown by some autograph letters from Whitlock to Rose, an instance of the use of keeping old letters. These old papers will probably bring more than their weight in bank notes to the Chief."¹ He

¹ He did not after all share in the prize money.

further remarks: "Sir Hugh Rose and his staff are very much pleased with Sir William Denison. A panic had seized the Government, only dispelled by the two (Sir W. Denison and Sir Hugh Rose) pulling strongly and pluckily together, both determined to beat the enemy before concluding peace, whatever the victory might cost!"

On the 13th, early, Prendergast left his amiable host and hostess (the Simpsons) and took eleven hours in the van to accomplish 47 miles to Attock, partly from bad roads, partly from bad horses.

"At Attock, Major Sandilands, Executive Engineer, gave us dinner, and put us up in the Serai in which he lives. He showed us specimens of salt candlesticks, vases, etc., and fossils found in the Indus and Jhelum, about 120 miles hence; the salt has a reddish tinge. The hills beyond Nowshera are of limestone of a slaty character, and very fine slabs of slate are to be had; red sandstone must also be near, for pieces of it are brought down by the streams. The mud of the Peshawar Valley is particularly sticky, and it would be impossible to march troops in wet weather over any but a well-metalled road. Rains prevail at this time of year in bursts of three or four days, followed by intense cold." The Indus is so strong and wild during the summer months that the bridge has to be withdrawn, and a ferry instituted at Attock; its rate now is about 8 miles an hour, and when the snows melt it becomes 13 to 16 miles. The garrison consist of detachments from two British corps, and one native corps, and besides the officers of these troops there are a deputy commissioner, a doctor, and engineer for the roads and bridge, who reside here.

On the 11th October 1864 he married Emilie, daughter of Frederick Simpson, Esq., and niece of General Geo. W. G. Simpson of Madras Artillery, who was at the time superintendent of the gunpowder factory at Madras.

The wedding took place at Trinity Church, Bangalore.

All the gunners and engineers were at the wedding, and many guests came from Madras.

The honeymoon was spent at Nundidroog, and after that Major and Mrs. Prendergast returned to St. Thomas' Mount.

Soon after his return, he was appointed Assistant Consulting Engineer for Railways. His duties were connected with the maintenance of the South-West and Bangalore branches of the Madras railway, as well as the construction of the North-West line, and of the Southern of India line from Negapatam to Erode, and this post he retained for three or four years, until the despatch of the Expedition to Abyssinia in 1867-68, when he was given the command of three companies of Madras Sappers.

CHAPTER V

EXPEDITION TO ABYSSINIA

ON the 13th August 1867, Sir Robert Napier, Commander-in-Chief at Bombay, was appointed to the command of the Expedition to Abyssinia, for the purpose of rescuing Mr. Rassam, Consul Cameron, and other prisoners from King Theodore.

On 16th September, a reconnoitring party sailed from Bombay, under Lieut.-Colonel Merewether, C.B., with Lieut.-Colonel Phayre, Q.M.G., and Lieut.-Colonel St. Clair Wilkins, Bombay Engineers; Zulla, in Annesley Bay, was selected as the best landing place, and the party then examined the passes through the mountains, and the Kumayli Pass was chosen. The advanced brigade landed at Zulla on 30th October.

Early in November, the Kumayli Pass was surveyed, and working parties sent up to improve the roads, and directly the road was sufficiently good, Senafé was occupied on 5th December. The Sind Brigade now reached Zulla, and Sir Charles Staveley assumed command of the forces.

For a month Staveley held the command, during which more troops arrived from England and Bombay, including three companies of the Madras Sappers under the command of Prendergast. They were landed between the 8th and 12th December, and were employed in making a pier 900 feet long at Zulla. Great difficulty was experienced in carrying out this work, as stone had to be brought 10 miles, and there was no



LORD NAPIER OF MAGDALA, G.C.B.

timber to be got. Fresh water was supplied by means of condensers.

On the 2nd January 1868, Sir Robert Napier, with General Malcolm and staff, arrived at Zulla, and landed in state on 7th. Captain Goodfellow, Bombay Engineers, who had been in charge of the works at Zulla, was sent on to the pass between Kumayli and Senafé, while Captain Chrystie, Madras Engineers, succeeded him at Zulla.

At Kumayli, 14 miles from Zulla, the road entered the mountains, but for 3 miles farther was nearly level when the ascent began, the track following the dry bed of the stream. As the ascent was continued, the mountains drew closer and closer together, more precipitously, and to a greater height, till at Lower Suru, 10 miles from Kumayli, there was only a fissure a few yards wide. This narrow defile was over 2 miles long to Upper Suru.

The Beloochees and sappers, after six weeks' hard labour, had made a road safe for field artillery and wheeled traffic, but as it was certain that this road would be swept away by the first rains, it was necessary to store Senafé as far as possible with supplies. For 13 miles beyond Suru the road twined along the water-course till it reached Undul Wells, where fine vegetation commenced. From this plain the road again ascended for 18 miles to Rahajuddy, 6000 feet above Zulla. The tableland of Senafé was reached 8 miles farther on, 7000 feet above the sea, 65 miles from Zulla. A good road was made as far as Kumayli, between Kumayli and Suru the road was widened and cleared for the passage of carts; and the Senafé Ghaut made practicable by a fine display of engineering talent. The sappers and pioneers attached to the force were the 10th Company Royal Engineers, Major Prichard; H, G and K Companies Madras Sappers, under Major Prendergast; 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Company Bombay Sappers, under Captain M'Donnell; 23rd Punjab

Pioneers, under Major Chamberlain, and the Beloochees.

The K Company, after a short stay at Zulla, went on to Senafé Pass, but the other two companies were retained at Zulla, and the H Company during the whole campaign worked there.

By the end of January the railway was half way to Kumayli and the telegraph reached to Suru; early in January, mules arrived from Lahore, and with their aid the Commander-in-Chief was enabled to occupy Goona-Goona, 12 miles beyond Senafé.

Preparations were now made for a general advance. The transport and baggage of every one was reduced to a minimum, and by 25th Sir Robert Napier commenced advance to Antalo. On that day Napier left Zulla, and a brigade was ordered to march on Antalo. The railway was placed in charge of Captain Darrah, Royal Engineers, with Lieuts. Willans, Pennefather, and Lieut. Graham, 108th. Darrah did the surveys, Willans made the bridges, and Pennefather had general superintendence of the line.

When the line was sufficiently advanced Lieut. Baird was appointed traffic manager.

The difficulties at Zulla were very great, and the work excessively trying. Under a burning sun, with an apportioned allowance of water and with perpetual clouds of dust, physical labour was exceedingly severe, but the piers, roads, and railway had to be made, and made they were.

Napier arrived at Senafé 29th January. This post was the secondary base, and was the great storehouse for supplies. In front of Senafé was a large plain over which stretched the road to Antalo. It was at first supposed that the country beyond Senafé would furnish abundant supplies; and when this hope was found to be delusive, it was thought that Adigerat would be the "promised land." Nothing, however, but firewood and meat could be got there. Antalo was then said

to be the point where every difficulty of supply would vanish. At that place grass was certainly procured. Barley also was purchased, but not nearly in sufficient quantities. Meat was obtained, and the wood wherewith to cook it, but vegetables, tea, sugar, and spirits had all to be carried, so that the security of the food of the army depended upon good communications. Napier left Senafé on 3rd February, and two days later was at Adigerat. It was here for the first time that growing crops were met with.

Major Grant, who had been sent by Napier as envoy to Kassai, Prince of Tigré, rejoined the Commander-in-Chief at Adigerat. The Pioneer Force occupied Dolo, 70 miles south of Adigerat, within two marches of Antalo on 10th February, and Antalo was occupied by Col. Phayre 5 days later with 150 cavalry.

On the 11th February a column under Brigadier Collings (H.M. 33rd) was pushed forward to support the Pioneer Force, including a wing of the 33rd, Penn's Battery, and 100 Sind Horse. At this time Captain Chrystie was ordered from Zulla to Senafé to relieve Captain Goodfellow (who had been ordered to the front), and handed over charge of Zulla works to Captain H. W. Wood, R.(M.)E.

"Captain Wood completed the pile pier, and built a new head to the stone pier greatly improving it. Captain Wood's work was distinguished by its solidity and permanent character. That the piers were not damaged by the late gales is attributable to this officer's good work at the head of the piers. Captain Wood was unfortunately afterwards taken ill, and had to go on board the hospital ship, Lieut. H. H. Lee, Bombay Engineers, assuming charge." The Commanding Engineer testified to the excellent work done by this officer also. Captain Chrystie remained at Senafé till 24th February improving the Ghant, and also constructed 3 miles of bullock road over a saddle of the Sedra mountain towards Tekonda,

as an alternative route for the retirement of the force *via* the Huddas Valley. At the end of February Chrystie was moved up to the charge of the entrenched camp at Adigerat.

Napier halted at Adigerat till the 8th February; at this time there was a great deficiency of transport, and it was proposed to put the troops on half rations, but the Commander-in-Chief declined to entertain the proposal. At this period the troops consumed daily 170 mule loads of provisions, but the Transport Corps soon became more efficient. It was formed into two divisions, one for Highlands and the other for Lowlands, and as far as Adigerat. The former followed the army, and consisted of four sections of 2000 mules each.

All this time a party of Engineer officers under the command of Lieut. T. T. Carter, B.E. (after Carter-Campbell) were occupied in making an accurate triangular survey of the country, which was eventually carried out most successfully.

Every exertion was made at this time to reduce baggage, but the climate interfered. The thermometer frequently stood at freezing-point and even lower. Warm clothing and blankets were hence absolutely necessary.

While at Adigerat the Commander-in-Chief was joined by the King's Own, Beloochees, 10th Company Royal Engineers, and Murray's Armstrong battery. Two elephants were brought up to show to Kassai, Prince of Tigré. The Abyssinians considered this a very wonderful sight, as they had never previously supposed that these enormous animals could be tamed. The Armstrong guns proved also of great interest to the people. At this time the latest news of the captives was dated the 17th January. Theodore was reported to be one day's journey from Magdala, but not expected to arrive before the end of February, unless he abandoned his baggage and guns. The prisoners

were in the fortress. Napier left Adigerat on 18th February, the Beloochees and one company of sappers having been previously pushed forward to improve the road. The force with the Commander-in-Chief consisted of a wing of the King's Own, wing of 10th Native Infantry, 4 Armstrong guns, 3rd Bombay Cavalry, and detachment Royal Engineers. The garrison left at Adigerat was a wing of 25th Bombay N.I. under Colonel Little, 2 Armstrong guns, and 2 companies of sappers, and these were all the troops in front of Senafé. On 24th February the force was ordered to advance from Adabagi (two marches in front of Adigerat) when news of the approach of Kassai, Prince of Tigré was received.

A meeting was arranged to take place on the banks of the Diab, half way between Adabagi and Mauzzain. On the 25th, Sir Robert Napier and Kassai met. A review of our troops took place, followed next morning by a visit to Kassai's camp. The friendship of the Prince of Tigré was of the greatest consequence. He was chief of a country in which the route of our army lay for 150 miles, and his refusal to assist us would have involved a campaign in Tigré before we could proceed. After a farewell visit from Kassai, our force on 26th February began its march to Antalo. On 28th February the banks of the Dolo were reached. A halt was here found necessary to rest the wearied troops ; but on 2nd March, Napier reached the neighbourhood of Antalo, half way between Zulla and Magdala. The entrenched camp at Adigerat was incomplete at the end of February, and Captain Chrystie proposed certain modifications at the west extremity which tended to hasten its completion, as well as improve the track, besides omitting from the interior space some ground which was completely commanded at 200 yards both from the west and from the north. These works were carried to completion by working parties furnished by the wing of 25th Bombay N.I.

The distribution of the sappers and pioneers at this time was as follows :

Pioneer Force, 3rd and 4th Company Bombay Sappers, and 2 Companies 25th Punjab Pioneers.

1st Brigade—1st Division 10th Company Royal Engineers and 2 Companies Beloochees.

2nd Brigade—1st Division K Company Madras Sappers, 7 Companies Punjab Pioneers, and wing of Beloochees.

Adigerat—2nd Company Bombay Sappers.

Kumayli—G Company Madras Sappers.

Zulla—H Company Madras Sappers, 5 Companies 23rd Punjab Pioneers.

The troops intended to compose the 1st Division not already at Antalo were ordered up to the front, and the 3rd Dragoon Guards, 12th Bengal Cavalry were instructed to press on by double marches ; and by the middle of March all the troops which were to advance on Magdala were round or in front of Antalo. On 12th March the Commander-in-Chief left Antalo, moving by route which leads by Amba Mayro and Alagi Pass (9500 feet) to the Antalo Valley, and three days later he joined the Pioneer Force and directed its operations in person.

On 17th Sir Charles Staveley moved with 1st Brigade from Antalo to Belago, 5 miles short of Makhan, which place he reached next day. The march from Antalo to Makhan (15 miles) was very severe, the Belago Pass being 9700 feet above the sea.

On 18th March Napier moved to Ashangi, while Staveley was ordered to halt at Haya.

The route from Makhan to Ashangi lay round the edge of a mountain range covered with juniper trees which formed a thick jungle. After crossing a deep valley a summit of 9400 feet was gained, whence the first view of the Lake of Ashangi was obtained. The lake was small, 4 miles by 3, surrounded by fine hills, which enclosed a fertile valley with crops of standing

corn, with numerous villages on the hillsides. The uninhabited border of the lake was swampy ground. An advance was now made on Lat. On 20th Napier reached Mesagita. It was here reported that the pass beyond over the Womberat Hills to Lat was very difficult, and 2 companies Bombay Sappers, and 2 of Pioneers were marched forward to improve it, and a wing of the 33rd was sent to assist. Two days after a battery of Royal Artillery and 4 companies of Beloochees marched in one day under Staveley from Ashangi and joined Napier at Lat. At Lat new arrangements were made for the distribution of troops and pioneer forces, while 1st and 2nd Brigades were ordered to proceed without baggage, and it was from this place that the rapid advance on Magdala was commenced. On 23rd Napier advanced on Narowa (11 miles), and next day to Dildi. The road was very mountainous, bad, and narrow. The first part was passed without great difficulty, but afterwards it was rugged, devious, and broken, and Dildi was only reached late in the evening. A halt of one day was made when a move was effected to Wondag. During this march the force was exposed to a terrific thunderstorm. The distance was only 7 miles, but there was a continuous rise to the head of the Wondag Pass. From this point (10,500 above the sea) there was a grand view of the valley of the Takkazzi. On 27th the advance was continued to Moga.

At this time Theodore was reported to have crossed the Beshilo, and to be advancing to defend the passage of the Takkazzi.

Napier determined to secure the passage of the river, and on the 28th moved to the banks of the Takazzi. Working parties of the King's Own, Beloochees, and Punjabees were pushed forward at once under Captain Goodfellow and Lieut. Le Messurier, Bombay Engineers, to form a practicable path up the precipitous south bank, which rose 4000 feet above the river. After no

great length of time a sapper on the summit signalled "road prepared," and the force began to climb the ascent. Before night the ascent was complete, the passage of the Takazzi secure, and orders were sent to Staveley to push on, and concentrate on the advanced force. The 1st and 2nd Brigades were massed at Santara on the edge of the tableland of Wadela, 11,500 feet above the sea. The range of the thermometer was here very great, for although in the day time it was as high as 75° , it fell at night as low as 19° or 20° .

Between the Takazzi and the Beshilo, besides the Wadela plateau lay Dalanta and Damt south of the Beshilo, and in the fork formed between that river and the Kulkulla lay the mass of mountains of which Magdala is the key.

On 31st March the 1st Brigade went to Gaso, next day to Abdakom, and on 2nd April to Yesendre, followed closely by 2nd Brigade, and two days after crossed the ravine of the Jidda to Dalanta plateau. At Bethor the army struck the road made by Theodore on his march from Debra Tabor to Magdala.

Owing to want of supplies the force was delayed on the Dalanta plateau, and the weather was very stormy at this time, thunder being of nightly occurrence; but on 9th April it was able to move forward 5 miles across the plain to the top of the descent into the Beshilo, where it camped within sight of Fahla, Selassie, Islamgi, and Magdala, around which Theodore's army could be clearly distinguished.

On 5th April Napier made a formal demand for the surrender of the prisoners.

While on the Dalanta plateau, scaling ladders and sandbags were got ready. Arrangements were also made to cut off Theodore's retreat. Dejateh Mashessa was requested to occupy Amba Kubait, and the Queen of the Gallas was asked to close the avenues to the south.

On the farther side of the Beshilo lay a rugged mass

of broken ground, in the centre of which the Amba of Magdala rose to an almost equal height with the plateau of Dalanta. The rugged country, studded with a bushy vegetation, was bounded in the distance by the tableland of Tanta and Ambala Suda. From the former the mountain mass of Magdala was separated by the ravine of the Menchouan, from the latter by the Kulkulla torrent—both tributaries of the Beshilo.

The mountains of Magdala form a crescent of which Magdala is the eastern horn, Fahla the western; midway between the two in the centre lies the plateau of Selassie. Magdala and Selassie are connected by the saddle of Islamgi, and Selassie with Fahla by the saddle of Fahla.

The highest of these plateaux is Magdala, 9000 feet above the sea and 3000 above the ravines surrounding it. Its sides are scarped and very steep, but at two points they fall on the terraces of Islamgi and Sangallat. It is at these two points alone that an entrance can be made to the Amba by the Kokebbir and Kaffirbir gates. From the foot of the Fahla saddle the Werhi-waha valley runs down to the Beshilo, and between the upper part of the stream which forms the valley and one of the tributaries lies the plain of Arogi. At the foot of the ascent to Fahla and west of the same tributary, at a higher elevation than the plain of Arogi, lies the plateau of Afficho which dips down towards the Beshilo in the Gumbaya Spur.

On the 25th March Theodore had reached Islamgi, where he pitched his camp, and awaited the attack of the British.

On the 10th April he assembled his army, ordered a road to be prepared for the passage of his guns from Magdala to Fahla, and there he posted four large guns and four smaller ones.

On the same day our final advance commenced, and the whole army was moved down to the Beshilo, 12 miles from Magdala. Napier determined to occupy

the spur leading towards Fahla called Gumbaya and Afficho; he could thence operate on either side of Fahla.

All the water-carriers were organised to carry forward regular supplies of water from the river. The cavalry were posted to hold the Beshilo, and the remainder of the 1st Brigade moved across the river, the 2nd being directed to remain in the bed of the Beshilo as a support. The infantry of 1st Brigade was intended to occupy the Gumbaya Spur and cover a reconnaissance of Colonel Phayre in the direction of Fahla. 1st Brigade consisted of 1819 men, including Madras and Bombay Sappers, as well as 10th Company Royal Engineers, besides Punjab Pioneers and Beloochees. The troops toiled painfully up the rugged slopes of the Gumbaya Spur, suffering severely from great heat and scarcity of water. Four companies of sappers were to make a path up the Gumbaya Spur for guns. Colonel Phayre, however, took the sappers as his escort, and the road remained unmade. Colonel Phayre sometime after sent word that the sappers would be left to hold it, and that the guns, etc., might take the route by the King's Road; Napier accordingly ordered the guns to move up the King's Road, and then proceeded himself to the front, and passing the Infantry Brigade arrived on the Afficho plateau when he found to his astonishment that at the point where the King's Road emerged from the Werhi-waha ravine, 1200 yards from him and 700 feet below, there were no troops. He at once ordered Staveley to send Chamberlain's Pioneers to the left, and hurried up the 1st Brigade. This was effected only just in time, for the leading mules of Penn's battery were seen to be emerging from the pass. A few moments later a round shot from Fahla whirled over the heads of the staff, and at once the steep path and mountain sides of Fahla were covered by masses of warriors rushing down to secure the wealthy booty. They were led by Theodore's favourite general, while he himself remained on

Fahla. The assailants were fully 5000 in number, including 500 mounted chiefs. The naval brigade was hurried up, and opened with their rockets on the advancing masses, who nevertheless advanced with great confidence against the head of the column on the plateau, while another party bore down to attack the artillery and baggage. The King's Own, the Beloochees, detachment of Royal Engineers and Bombay Sappers rapidly descended the path which led down from the Afficho plateau. As they rose on the brow of the plateau of the Arogi plain they opened fire. Their fire told with fearful effect, and the enemy were driven back slowly but stubbornly. They were finally driven off the plain of Arogi, down the slopes into the ravines at the head of the Werhi-waha defile. Another party of the enemy tried to pass round the sides of the Afficho plateau to turn Staveley's right, but were checked by rockets, and the exertion of the K Company Madras Sappers, under Major H. N. D. Prendergast, supported by Loch with the Bombay Cavalry. As soon as these were repulsed, the fire of the rockets was directed on Fahla, and one nearly killed Theodore who was engaged in person with his artillery. Meantime a sharp action has been fought where the King's Road issued from the Werhi-waha valley, a large body bore down on the position occupied by Milwards guns and Chamberlain's Pioneers. Chamberlain advanced, and a close contest ensued between spears and bayonets. The Abyssinians made a gallant resistance, but were forced off into the ravines on Chamberlain's left front. The baggage master, Lieut. Sweeny, King's Own, massed the baggage, brought forward the baggage guard, and checked the attempt of the enemy to penetrate into the defile. Arrested by the baggage guard, closed in upon by the pioneers and two companies of King's Own, which Staveley wheeled up against their flank, the enemy suffered very severely. The engagement commenced at 4 p.m., and it was 7 p.m. before the enemy were completely driven off,

and the troops bivouacked for the night on the ground which covered the issue of the Werhi-waha valley. During the night the 2nd Brigade marched up the valley from the Beshillo, and occupied the position. The Abyssinian loss was 700 killed and 1200 wounded, including many chiefs of note, among them the Commander-in-Chief himself. Our loss was trifling, only 20 wounded, of whom 2 died.

This great disparity of loss was due to the persistent attacks of the Abyssinians against a better disciplined and better armed force, as well as to the cool courage everywhere evinced by our troops. Theodore, after some hesitation, now sent down Lieut. Prideaux, Bombay Army, with Mr. Flad and a chief (Theodore's son-in-law), Degatch Alami, to the British lines with a verbal message desiring reconciliation. Napier in reply demanded all the Europeans in his hands, and further guaranteed honourable treatment to Theodore. Prideaux and Flad returned with this letter.

Theodore having considered it, wrote a paper (he did not condescend to write a letter) with which he returned Napier's letter. This paper closed with the words, "A warrior who has dandled strong men in his arms like infants will never suffer himself to be dandled in the arms of others."

Prideaux and Flad had again to return with Napier's original letter, and an intimation that he could grant no other terms.

Theodore, it appears, after he had sent his insulting missive, spent some time in meditation and prayer; and finally after taking counsel with his chiefs—some of whom recommended the murder of the prisoners and resistance to the last—he ordered the prisoners to be released. Immediately after giving this order, he attempted to shoot himself with a pistol, but was prevented by a chief, the bullet just grazing his ear. After this he had an interview with Mr. Rassam, the result being that Mr. Rassam and the remainder of the

British captives and several others were sent down the hill, while Mr. Meyer was despatched in advance to announce their approach. He met Lieut. Prideaux and Mr. Flad returning. They hurried back, and accompanied Mr. Meyer, and one hour after sunset Mr. Rassam and all the captives arrived free men.

Early next morning Napier received an apologetic letter from Theodore releasing all. He also sent a present of cows and sheep as a peace offering, but these were not allowed to come within our picquets, as it would have meant that there was peace, whereas Napier intended to insist on unconditional surrender. The Germans, who had escorted Mr. Rassam's party down the evening before, returned to the mountain. They took up with them the remains of the Abyssinian leader, Fituarari Gabri, and the body was at once burned in Magdala. On finding he could not obtain peace without his personal surrender, Theodore went into the Amba, and spent a restless night. Besides Mr. Rassam, Consul Cameron, Mr. Flad, Lieut. Prideaux, and Dr. Blane of Bombay Army, there were 55 other prisoners, 22 men, 10 women, and 23 children.

Napier had promised to abstain from hostilities for twenty-four hours, and he waited twice the time he had agreed to, but on Monday, when he found that the conditions he demanded had not been complied with, he prepared to attack Theodore's position.

The cavalry had previously been sent to close the issues from Magdala which were not already held by the Gallas.

Napier determined to attack Islamgi by the King's Road. The Armstrong guns and mortars were placed in position, with Selassie in front and Fahla on the right, so that they could fire at long range in support of our advance.

At this time large bodies of the King's troops on Fahla had surrendered, and it was rumoured that

Theodore contemplated flight by the gate on the farther side of Magdala.

Napier at once sent word offering a reward of 50,000 dollars for his capture.

Theodore, if he ever really intended to fly, reconsidered the matter when he found the outlet from Magdala watched by the Gallas; and resolved to defend the place. The Beshilo was held by cavalry to prevent escape by the Menchana Ravine. Staveley was ordered to advance on Islamgi, and occupy Fahla and Selassie. The three hills—Fahla, Selassie, and Magdala—were surrounded at the top by steep and precipitous scarps. Fahla and Magdala were joined to Selassie by saddles, and were nearly at right angles to the central hill. A good but very steep road led up the north side of Fahla, over the saddle of Fahla, then along the south side of Selassie, and by the next saddle of Islamgi to Magdala. A pathway branched off the road at the Fahla saddle to the left, ran along the foot of the Selassie scarp for some distance, and then turned up a zig-zag to the top near the entrance of Magdala. Another path led direct up to Selassie from the Fahla saddle. Both Fahla and Magdala had flat tops, but Selassie sloped upwards from the scarp, and its summit commanded the other two. The artillery having been placed to cover the head of the ascent, the advance was ordered at half-past eight.

The division moved up the road with the 2nd Brigade in advance, headed by a ladder party of sappers (detachment of 10th Company Royal Engineers, and K Company Madras Sappers).

These were	694	men	33rd
	425	„	45th
	271	„	10th Native Infantry.

38°

39°

40°

MAP
of
Abyssinia

—SCALE—
32 miles to Inch

Dhalac
Archipelago

16°

16°

HABAB

HALHAL

BEDJUK

Keren

BOGOS

Aslus

Ailet

Arkiko

Massowah

HAMASYEN

Asmara

Adulis

Arbilla

Addi Baro

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Shah

SARAWE

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About midday the head of the column reached the Fahla Saddle, when two companies of 33rd were pushed on to the summit of Selassie, supported by artillery; but the road was so bad that only three mountain guns could be passed up. When Selassie was crossed, the King's troops were ordered to lay down their arms, and retire to the plain below.

The first part of the order was quickly obeyed, but it took many hours for the large mass of people to come down. The numbers were estimated at 25,000 to 30,000, one-third being armed men.

The positions of Fahla and Selassie were immensely strong, and if defended would have caused us very severe loss. When they were secured, the Armstrong guns and 8-inch mortars were brought up about noon. Theodore, with 100 followers, left the Amba and went towards the market-place of Islamgi, where his guns were posted. At this time a detachment of the Bombay Light Cavalry had emerged on the Islamgi Saddle, and Staveley pushed forward a company of 33rd, with orders to keep Theodore's guns under fire. Theodore observed these detachments, mounted his horse, and capered about in a defiant manner, while Colonel Loch made arrangements for preventing the escape of any, by paths leading down upon the Islamgi Saddle. For some time Theodore's attendants continued to drag their guns towards Magdala, but one of the party being shot, they left them, retired within the Amba and shut the gate.

A dreadful stench was now observed by our troops; this came from the dead bodies at the foot of the precipice on the right. Theodore had massacred a large body of prisoners on the 9th, and thrown them over the precipice. Many were alive when thrown over. The British soldiers were greatly incensed by the sight of this wholesale slaughter. Napier meantime reconnoitred Magdala: at 1 p.m. he ordered a sharp cannonade to be directed on the gate, and

Staveley then made dispositions for the assault of the fortress by the 2nd Brigade supported by the 1st, which had advanced by the lower road after Selassie had been occupied.

The 33rd (10 companies) was to advance across Islamgi. Two in skirmishing order, two in support, and the remaining six, headed by a detachment Royal Engineers and K Company, Madras Sappers, under Captain Elliot, with ladders, crowbars, etc., were to form the storming party. Two companies of Bombay Sappers under Captain Leslie and Lieut. Leacock were to follow in rear of 33rd. On nearing the foot of the steep ascent to the gate, the skirmishers were to halt, and with the Sappers to keep up a heavy fire on the gateway. The 45th were to advance in line in rear of 33rd. The 1st Brigade, with exception of Punjab Pioneers and two companies of 10th Native Infantry, left to guard the camp at Arogi, was to move in column as a reserve, two companies 10th Native Infantry having been detached to Selassie to guard captured arms, etc.

The Armstrong guns and mortars were to advance along the main road south of Selassie as far as possible to cover the advance, while the mountain guns and naval rocket batteries at the foot of Selassie were to keep up a fire on the gate.

At 3 p.m. the batteries opened fire, and at 4 p.m. the advance to storm was ordered.

The 33rd soon surmounted the precipitous cliff which lay between it and the gate. On arrival at the gateway our progress was arrested, for the gate was closed, and the sappers had not at hand the powder bags.

The sappers at once set to work with the crowbars, and the gate was soon broken down, when it was found that the gateway was completely blocked up with large stones to a height of 12 feet (afterwards found to be 15 feet in thickness). While the sappers were engaged

with the gate, the garrison maintained a constant fire on them, and nine men and officers at this time received wounds or contusions.

Meantime Lieut. A. Le Messurier, Bombay Engineers, found a point where the wall was low enough to be surmounted by means of a scaling ladder, and with some men of 33rd, he first entered the fortress of Magdala, taking the defenders in flank, drove them up a narrow path leading to another gateway 70 yards higher up.

Through this the leading man of the 33rd rushed, and being followed by the whole regiment the summit was quickly occupied, and the Standard of England was planted on Magdala. Theodore's followers now threw down their arms, and asked for quarter.

The fortress of Magdala, so easily captured, was one of the strongest which could be found in the world. At the outward gateway several of Theodore's chiefs were found dead. Among them Ras Engedda, who had proposed the massacre of the European prisoners. It appears that when Ras Engedda fell, Theodore divested himself of his gold brocaded mantle and hurried farther up the fortress. As soon as the outer gateway was carried, Theodore shot himself with a pistol, and fell dead.

All Theodore's guns (thirty-seven in number) were captured, and the whole, with the exception of a 56-pr. which had burst on 10th April, were found serviceable and well supplied with ammunition. The British casualties were trifling: Major Pritchard, Royal Engineers, and nine men wounded; Captain Elliot, Madras Sappers; Cornet Dalrymple, attached to Madras Sappers; Lieut. Morgan, Royal Engineers, and two non-commissioned officers received contusion.

At Arogi, Captain Roberts and three men of King's Own, and 13 men of 23rd Punjabees, were wounded. At the time of the capture of Magdala, nearly all the posts were being pressed by the Abyssinians. Senafé,

Adigerat, Goona-Goona, Agala, Belago, Makhan, Ashangi, and Dildi garrisons had frequently to repel casual attacks. Had Napier's force been unsuccessful and compelled to retire to the coast, the attacks would certainly have increased in importance, and would have proved very embarrassing to the withdrawal of the force. Magdala was first offered to Wagshum Gobaze, but he refused to take possession; it was then given to Masleeat, Queen of the Gallas.

The captured guns were all burst, and the defences of the gates mined and destroyed, and fire applied to the Palace and other houses. The British force left Magdala on 18th April, crossed the Beshilo, and next day preparations were made for the return of the force to Zulla.

On 20th, Lieut.-General Sir Robert Napier, G.C.S.I., G.C.B., issued an address to his army, dated Camp Dalsula:

"Soldiers of the Army of Abyssinia,—The Queen and the people of England entrusted to you a very arduous and difficult expedition—to release our countrymen from a long and painful captivity, and to vindicate the honour of our Country, which had been outraged by Theodore, King of Abyssinia. I congratulate you with all my heart on the noble way in which you have fulfilled the commands of our Sovereign.

"You have traversed, often under a tropical sun or amidst storms of rain and sleet, 400 miles of mountainous and difficult country. You have crossed many steep and precipitous ranges of mountains more than 10,000 ft. in altitude, where your supplies could not keep pace with you.

"When you arrived within reach of your enemy, though with scanty food, and some of you for many hours without either food or water, in four days you passed the formidable chasm of the Beshilo and defeated the army of Theodore, which poured down upon you from their lofty fortress in the full confidence of victory.

A host of many thousands have laid down their arms at your feet. You have captured and destroyed upwards of thirty pieces of artillery, many of great weight and efficiency, with ample stores of ammunition. You have stormed the almost inaccessible fortress of Magdala, defended by Theodore with the desperate remnant of his chiefs and followers. After you forced the entrance, Theodore, who never showed mercy, distrusted the offer of mercy held out to him, and died by his own hand. You have released not only the British captives, but those of other friendly nations. You have unloosed the chains of more than ninety of the principal chiefs of Abyssinia.

"Magdala, on which so many victims have been slaughtered, has been committed to the flames, and remains only a scorched rock. Our complete and rapid success is due, first to the mercy of God, whose hand, I feel assured, has been over us in a just cause. Secondly, to the high spirit with which you have been inspired. Indian soldiers have forgotten the prejudices of race and creed, to keep pace with their European comrades.

"Never has an army entered into a war with more honourable feelings than yours. This has carried you through many fatigues and difficulties; you have been only eager for the moment when you could close with your enemy. The remembrance of your privations will pass away quickly, but your gallant exploit will live in history.

"The Queen and the people of England will appreciate your services.

"On my part, as your Commander, I thank you for your devotion to your duty, and the good discipline you have maintained. Not a single complaint has been made against a soldier, of fields injured or villagers wilfully molested in property or person.

"We must not forget what is due to our comrades who have been labouring for us in the sultry climate of

Zulla, and the pass of Koomaylee, or in the monotony of the posts which have maintained our communications. Each and all would have given all they possessed to be with us; they deserve our gratitude. I shall watch over your safety to the moment of your re-embarkation, and to the end of my life remember with pride that I have commanded you.

R. NAPIER,

“The General Commander-in-Chief.

“Camp Dalsula, *April 20th*, 1868.”

On the 24th April, Napier was at Abdakom, and received in audience a large party of Abyssinians of note who had been liberated by our operations. The principal chiefs freed were thirty-four in number. Seven of them had been more than ten years in captivity, while four of them had been detained by Theodore for fourteen or fifteen years; the remainder had suffered imprisonment for terms varying from one to seven years.

On 26th our returning force reached the Takkazze valley. It was at this time that the works in the Suru pass were damaged by a severe storm. Captain W. Chrystie was ordered over from Adigerat to take charge of the works. He reached Upper Suru on 2nd May, and relieved and took under his orders Lieut. Mainwaring, Royal Engineers. At this time the force under Napier had reached Lat. Captain Chrystie found that the pass had been closed to traffic for a week, but that although the road for wheeled transport had been everywhere washed away, the only very serious obstacles were at the Devil's Staircase, a mile below Upper Suru, where about fifty yards of ramp had been destroyed, and at the defile of Lower Suru, where the ravine had resumed its original state, as found by our Pioneer force.

The only men available for the work was a wing of the 10th Native Infantry returning to Zulla, and detained by the breaking up of the road. In two days

the road was again made passable for mules and camels, and the regiment resumed its march to the coast. On Captain Chrystie representing the state of affairs, two companies Bombay Sappers, two of the 16th Punjab Native Infantry, and 150 Bengal Cavalry, with 60 masons and 200 Lahore muleteers, were dispatched to his assistance.

Lieut. Mainwaring had charge of the lower part, while Captain Chrystie himself directed that in the upper portion. The road was repaired in a most substantial manner at the gaps in the Devil's Staircase, and at other difficult points, the work being cyclopean throughout, stones of large size being rolled down from the hillside and dragged into position with three companies at once on the drag ropes. Hardly had the work been well completed, when on the afternoon of the 19th May a terrific thunderstorm broke over the pass and the hills to the north of it. Before detailing the damage done, and the steps taken to make it good, it will be as well to mention the movements of the Commander-in-Chief. On the 10th May he was at Mashib, at which place Theodore's queen was reported to be ill. The march had been very trying owing to the constant storms of rain. The tribes also were very troublesome, and constantly made attacks on us. In some of these both Abyssinians and Gallas were killed. This shows what difficulties would have been experienced had the force been returning unsuccessful.

At Hash Hellat the queen died; her son Alawayo afterwards accompanied Napier to England.

On 24th May, Napier reached Senafé, and a review was held in honour of Her Majesty's birthday. Prince Kassai was present on this occasion.

Three days after Prince Kassai reviewed his troops, and next day Senafé was evacuated by our force, and by the close of the month the Commander-in-Chief was ready to pass down the Suru defile. It will thus be apparent that the storm of 19th May was a very serious

matter, and had occurred at a most critical time, calling for the most strenuous exertions to repair the damage done.

The storm had been quite local, no damage being apparent 2 miles above Suru, and it only lasted half an hour; but during that brief space not only were the watercourses foaming torrents, but the sides of the hills themselves were sheets of white water, whilst the reverberations of the thunder hardly rose above the roar of the torrent and the din of the falling stones and rocks. In the main pass itself the flood rose with extreme rapidity and irresistible violence. Seven men of the working parties were carried away before they could reach the hillside only a few yards distant; whilst at the lower part of the defile two officers riding down to Kumayli, overtaken by the waters, had such a narrow escape that the horse of one was swept from under him just as he reached the rising ground, the rider being saved by his companion seizing him.

Some idea of the force of the water may be formed from the above and the two following incidents. At the Devil's Staircase a cart was deposited on the summit of a rock $22\frac{1}{2}$ feet above the bed of the torrent; a little above, where the hills close in at Lower Suru, a rock 6 feet by $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet by 4 feet was forced on to a shelf of rock in mid valley about 10 feet from the ground. Next morning Captain Chrystie inspected the pass as far as possible, and all work was found to have been effaced. The local character of the storm and the sudden cessation of the flood had not permitted time for the holes scooped out whilst it was at its height, being refilled by deposit, as would have been the case had it subsided gradually. The consequence was that the narrow part of the defile was a succession of precipices and pools. The worst place was near the centre of the lower defile, where a passage with nearly vertical rocky sides, 4 feet wide at bottom, led for a distance of about 40 feet to the edge of a perpendicular drop of

18 feet to the surface of a pool 14 feet in depth. Although there was no place so bad as this, still, for fully 200 yards beyond, the same features were repeated again and again on a smaller scale. The very morning after the storm, the Antalo Brigade under Brigadier Collings arrived at Suru at 7.30, after a 12-mile march from Undee Wells, and by 9 a.m. the following working parties started to make the pass practicable: Left wing, 45th Foot and 3rd Bombay N.I.; right wing, 16th Punjab N.I. and K Company Madras Sappers.

They worked till 3.30 p.m. when the weather looked so threatening that, fearing another catastrophe, the parties were withdrawn. They returned to work on 21st at daylight, and at 1 p.m. the brigade with their baggage passed through the lower defile en route for Kumayli. Thus by the exertions of 2000 men working for ten hours, 4 miles of the most difficult portions of the pass were made passable for laden animals of all kinds. The road was made almost entirely by building ramps of loose stones and covering them with sand; and as this process had been repeated three times, all the stones easily procurable from the sole of the valley and the foot of the hills near the narrow parts of the pass had already been used, and material for this kind of road had become so scarce that had another torrent of the same violence come down and subsided with equal rapidity, the pass could not have been reopened in the same time without a much larger number of men. Work was continued for ten days longer, and the road was greatly improved, but it did not of course recover the condition of a good carriage road.

On the 1st June the Commander-in-Chief passed through the Suru Defile and reached Kumayli and Zulla. The troops were dispatched to England and to Bombay, and on 10th June Sir Robert Napier embarked for Suez and England. He reached England towards the end of June, and on 3rd July the thanks of both Houses of Parliament were awarded to him and his troops. Both

Disraeli and Gladstone made remarkable speeches on the occasion. Sir Robert Napier was raised to the peerage with the title of Lord Napier of Magdala, and was nominated a G.C.B. He received the Freedom of the City of London and a sword of honour of the value of 200 guineas.

The following notes regarding this campaign, which were found among Harry Prendergast's papers, will prove of considerable interest:

"The chief difficulty of the campaign was the transport. It was necessary to take a respectable force of all arms to Magdala to attack a brave chief in a hill fort. It was expedient to avoid rivers, as bridging equipment could not be carried, as the route for the most part lay through sterile country, avoiding towns. Zulla, in Annesley Bay, where the force landed, was on a sandy plain where no fresh water could be procured, and the march was through the Suru Pass up the bed of a stream between lofty, precipitous rocks up to Senafé. Here the tableland of Abyssinia began, but the soldiers had an idea that the table was upside down, and they were always climbing up and down the legs! The sappers were at first employed on the pier and works at Zulla, then in making roads, and the water supply of different camps. Baggage was cut down to an extent unusual in the east. Servants were discharged; officers were allowed a servant for each horse but no personal attendants. One small bell tent was allowed for ten officers, and the men were proportionately crowded; officers and men had rations alike. During the last few days mounted officers were allowed no transport, other officers had their blankets carried for them. The heat was great in the daytime, and at an elevation of 8000 to 12,000 feet there was frost at night. When the enemy were near, the turning out before daylight in expectation of attack was trying. It was known that very little grain or forage of any kind would be procured between Zulla and Magdala, and it was

equally certain that breadstuffs and vegetables were very scarce; of course, military and medical stores did not exist in the country; travellers had reported that roads and bridges were not to be found, and that the track lay over mountains and through rivers. It was absolutely necessary that at the end of the long march the men and horses should be in fighting condition, and to keep them so they must have shelter from the sun by day and from the cold and rain by night. Over such a country a good mule could carry perhaps 200 lb. in addition to his saddle, which weighed 65 lb. If you work it out, you find that a mule starting with a full load of grain might arrive at Magdala, but he would have eaten up all the grain, and would have brought up no stores of any kind. However, by sending troops of mules up to the top of the Senafé Ghaut laden with stores, and letting them return without loads and on short rations, a dépôt was formed 70 miles from the coast in a climate far superior to that of Zulla; more advanced dépôts were by degrees formed at Adigerat and Antalo. Every inducement was held out to distant tribes to bring in transport animals and forage. The mules and camels worked continuously, and became thinner and thinner; vast numbers of them died at this duty, and so the force was able to march to the Dalanta plain within striking distance of Magdala; but men and beasts were drawn pretty fine by that time. For weeks there was no grog for officers or men; all the chickens, eggs, honey and butter that the country produced was purchased for the hospitals. There were 45 elephants on the march; they consumed a lot of grain and other good things. When an elephant became sick, he was always given as physic a pill made thus: first a sheet of cake was made as large as a tea tray, and an inch or so in thickness, of flour and water, honey and butter; the edges were turned up till the cake assumed the form of a cup, then a whole bottle of Jamaica rum was poured in, and the edges of the cake

were brought over it so as to make a great capsule that was put into the animal's mouth whole. This was the universal panacea with Ouchterlony, who was in charge of them. The elephant cakes were excellent. I have tasted them, and the rum was said to be of the best quality, but it was too valuable to be wasted on officers and men! The duty of the elephants was to carry horse artillery guns and ammunition, and 8-inch mortars and shells. Two of the elephants carried the baggage of the headquarters staff; they were lightly laden, and were educated animals, able to pick up handkerchiefs, smoke a hookah, salaam, play a musical instrument, and generally they were expected to produce a moral effect on the inhabitants. The camels were employed on the stages near the coast.

"The road that was constructed at first, that is, nearest the coast, was wide enough for the passage of artillery and carts; but afterwards such a track as was passable by elephants and mules sufficed. At Zulla we had a well-supplied mess, and could shoot antelope, guinea-fowl, and partridges without difficulty; on the highlands guinea-fowl, hares, and occasionally wild duck were a welcome supplement to our rations; but one fine day some Abyssinian who had been feasted by Sir Robert Napier came dancing along towards one of our picquets. The sentry had heard much firing, as duck abounded near that camp, and he knew nothing about the chief's hospitality, so considering himself threatened he shot one of the Abyssinians. Handsome blood money was paid to the widow, and the mistake was explained; but after that officers were not allowed to shoot, and we had to live on our rations. Our cooks were sappers, who were allowed no meat for themselves, so our portions never seemed to be of regulation weight!

"There were many disadvantages in not knowing the language of the country. On one occasion a commanding officer found an Abyssinian swaggering about with a British sword, so he was tied up and flogged for

stealing it. When the interpreter came up, it was proved that he was a chief who had done such good service that Sir Robert Napier presented him with the sword with his own hand ! Excellent English-Amharic dialogue books were served out, and the people were very patient, so that one could often get information without interpreters.

“The flour rations were carried by Abyssinians on donkeys; 70 lb. was a load, and the Abyssinians generally stole half; but were paid £1 for conveying the remainder 100 miles. Men and donkeys were cheerful and active; the latter had no bridles, but all trotted along in droves over the mountains. The chief man, who was distinguishable by a great sword-cut on his head, just reported himself to the staff officer at the beginning and end of each march, and they gave no trouble. Payment was made on the most liberal scale for all supplies, and for damage done, or said to be done, by camping and moving the troops. I have seen a dollar paid for a big bundle of straw for a staff officer's horse on the banks of the Beshilo. A kerosine tin was the measure by which grain for the horses was bought, a dollar for a measure; but a dollar was given if the measure was more than half full. Very little forage of any kind was procurable for officer's chargers, or indeed for any animals, and the mortality among the transport mules owing to overwork and underfeeding was lamentable. Owing to the lavish expenditure of money by the British, there was no opposition to the march of the troops till they arrived before the walls of Magdala. The money used was the ‘Maria Theresa’ dollars, which were recognized in Abyssinia; they were specially coined for the expedition at Vienna; a considerable quantity of English sovereigns was also carried. The dollars, valued, if I remember right, at 6s. 4d., were handsome coins, but inconveniently large. If you wanted change for a dollar, you had to take it in bricks of rock salt,

and no one knew how much they were worth. Rupees were at first refused, but after a time they passed current near the coast; but brass regimental buttons were much appreciated. I heard that a bright button was valued at half a dollar. At Kumayli there was a remarkable deficiency of buttons on the sappers' jackets, and I observed that the Shoho ladies had quite a brilliant appearance with brass buttons sewn on to their leathern aprons, their sole garments, which were handed down from mother to daughter for generations. The sappers were great favourites with the Shohos, and the buttons were useful as love tokens and souvenirs.

"The Shohos at Zulla and Kumayli were poor little people, by no means prepossessing, very short and dirty; but as the soil was salt, and the water was salt, they had not much chance of growing up strong and beautiful; they had thick, coarse fuzzy hair standing out 8 or 10 inches from their heads. The women wore leathern aprons; the men wore very little clothing, and the children none at all, till they were provided with gunny bag coverings from the Commissariat Stores; but they were good-natured, and used to cook for the sappers, and do what they could to make them comfortable; in return, the men gave them rice and water from their rations.

"Sea water condensed and stored in tanks was the only fresh water available at Zulla, and that was often strongly flavoured with oil and tar, and loaded with sand."

"One afternoon, when we were encamped on the Dalanta plain, the Muzbee Sikhs, 23rd Pioneers, under Charles Chamberlain, were ordered to march forward and occupy the ford of the river Beshilo, on the way to Magdala. Very early next morning, Staveley's division followed, crossed the stream and advanced over the hills to the crest of a mountain from which Magdala was clearly seen; the sappers began to improve

the track in the dry river-bed along which was the usual route to Magdala, but were taken on by the Quarter-Master-General, Sir R. Phayre, over the hills. When Sir Robert Napier came up, the British force was on the brow of the hill facing Magdala, the pioneers were on a lower ridge running parallel to the front of the British force, and between it and Magdala as a sort of advanced guard. The ridge which they occupied covered the entrance to the ravine through which ran the track from the Beshilo to Magdala.

“Colonel Mansfield, the Adjutant-General, explained the position to the Chief, who seemed very angry; the Adjutant-General besought him to occupy the pioneer ridge, which, however, Sir Robert declared was no position. At this time the Abyssinian troops were assembled on the hill opposite to us, and were addressed by the King. A number of mules were seen by Theodore on the pioneer ridge; his greatest gun fired a shot over the heads of the pioneers, and his troops were ordered to capture the baggage. The shot was greeted with a loud cheer, as it was evident that we were to have a fight at last, after hard marching and severe discipline for weeks. The British troops were marched down to the pioneer ridge, and my orders were to take the right of the line, and to be very careful that our right flank was not turned. It was a picturesque scene, these opposing forces rushing down from the hills; the afternoon was showery, and there was a beautiful rainbow over the valley. When the Abyssinians approached the transport animals they found to their astonishment that they were attacking a battery, Penn’s ‘Steel pens’ as they were called. Colonel Penn opened on them at 800 yards, and firing went on all along the line. The order to advance came to me at last, and the nature of the ground was such that the corps on my left marched on high ground, and I was on a plateau some 200 feet lower; the Abyssinians wore red jackets, and it was very difficult

in the rain to distinguish friend from foe ; the rockets of the Naval Brigade were dangerously erratic, and some fell unpleasantly near us. The Madras Sappers were armed with old-fashioned carbines, good for firing at 150 yards ; whilst the infantry on our left were able to commence firing at 1000 yards, and the enemy retired before us without our doing them much mischief. When we got near the foot of Fahla, I saw an opportunity to make an attack with my sappers, and rush the path and a little work intended to protect the bottom of it. Before attempting to rush the work it was, however, necessary to warn the regiment on my left, and to get it to cease firing while we attacked ; but their excitement was so great that, before I had effected this, the cease firing was sounded all along the line, and the opportunity was lost.

“It was at this time that Colonel Baigrie, Quarter-Master-General, an old campaigning comrade of mine, came up and asked how I had got on. I slangily replied, ‘Very well, but the enemy were too many for me.’ ‘What!’ said he, ‘have you been beaten?’ and he was prepared to send troops to aid me ; so I had to explain that the enemy had been too clever and too quick in retiring ; not too numerous. We camped or bivouacked on the field, and the Abyssinians did not again come down from their hill to attack. There was plenty of noise during the action, which was called the battle of Arogi, but not 500 casualties took place. Firing was very wild and inaccurate, and no manœuvring was necessary. Owing to mistakes on the part of the Quarter-Master-General’s department, I was in charge of the Beshilo ford when the assault was made on Magdala two days later, but the Madras Sappers were engaged in it. One pious Havildar was heard praying that God would put it into the heart of Theodore to stay till the morrow, and that there might be a bloody fight in the morning.”

“I once asked Lord Napier some years after the

campaign what was the most serious anxiety during the expedition. 'It was lest there should be a cyclone or bad storm that would destroy the ships in Annesley Bay.' Discipline was severe, and the hardships and discomforts of the march told on the tempers of some of the senior officers. On one occasion I reported myself to the officer commanding a column to which I had just been attached as Field Engineer. The Brigadier was lying on the ground in his tent, a Staff Officer was sitting writing in the doorway. After I had twice stated to the Staff Officer why I called, the Brigadier called out, 'Tell Captain Prendergast that when I want him I will send for him.' (I was a Major in the army.) He was not busy, but looking idly at me!

"One day I had to go on with working parties from his column, we marched as far as the Takazzi River and bivouacked in the bed of it, my duty took me to the top of the hill on the farther bank, and I did not get back to the camp till after sunset; I then found that the Brigadier's Staff were in the sappers' tent, and that the Divisional General was in my camp. So I went to see him, and returning to the mess tent observed that the Brigadier was not there, so I asked the officers why he had not been invited in. His staff at once said you had better not ask him, he will only insult you; but I did go to him to offer the hospitality of the tent—we had no provisions except gogo (native brown bread), and no drinks except river water or cocoa, but there was shelter, and about the twelfth part of a bell tent to lie in. He was somewhat crusty, preferred a truss of straw on the stones in the bed of the river, grumbling that there was some one else who had a good dinner and a tent all to himself who might have asked him. He had proved himself a good soldier, but was terribly put out by being deprived of his port and champagne.

"The most cheerful of our Brigadiers was Collings of H.M. 33rd, who though he was detained at Antalo, and had no chance of going to the front, had always

a joke and a good story for every one. The march to Magdala was somewhat like the steeple chase game, in which if the throw of the dice bring a horse to the number occupied by a brook, the horse has to go back and start again; so on the march, if the road you had made was reported to be bad, back you had to go to Zulla; or if your camels or mules could not do their work, back you had to go, and some one else had a chance; and all responsible officers were in terror of being sent to the coast or delayed; and as the march was against time, to be stopped was a misfortune nearly as great as to be sent back. One officer in charge of a convoy, knowing that it was likely to be detained there, took the precaution to make a detour round Antalo to the next stage 10 or 12 miles nearer to Magdala. A Staff Officer was sent to wig him and get his reasons in writing for leaving Antalo, but he bluntly told the officer that he was a d——d ranker, and could not read or write.

“On one occasion a Staff Officer heard a lot of men of a British regiment grumbling on a pass, and reported the circumstance; the regiment was detained for some days, but afterwards were brought up to the headquarters column. It was a pleasure to see the fine battalion marching past the Chief’s tent, the band playing ‘Slap bang, here we are again,’ a popular song at the time.”

“Among the newspaper correspondents were Austin for the *Times*, Lord Adair Stanley for the *New York Herald*, Henty Shepherd for a Bombay paper, Hobbes represented the British Museum. There were Commissioners from Austria, Prussia, Holland, Italy, and France. The Austrian and Italian were extremely popular. There were plenty of political officers among them, Sir W. Merewether, Grant, Tweedie, and last, but not least, Captain Speedy who stood over 7 feet high in his stocking feet.

“He had been a General in the Abyssinian army. At the action of Arogi, he rode a mule, and his

Abyssinian General's dress consisted of a lion's skin.

"He knew Magdala, and the people and country round, and could speak Amharic, and some of the local dialects, and was very well acquainted with Theodore, and understood his manners and customs."

"Everyone was anxious to be employed in Abyssinia. Captain Bartholomew of the 10th was early appointed as a Deputy Director of Transport; wishing to offer an appointment to his friend Annesley, who was his senior in the regiment, he despatched a 'Precedence Telegram,' 'Will you serve as Assistant Transport Officer?' to which he received the reply, 'Precedence be d——d, of course I will,' not knowing the 'Precedence' was a technical term.

"Annesley proved a capital officer. I think that the first time I met him in Abyssinia was at Senafé on the occasion of a night alarm. We were turned out by an officer running past the mess tent at night crying 'To arms! To arms! The enemy are upon us!' We had just arrived in the camp, and had received no orders; so I rode to the General's tent at once, where I met Annesley, and the P.M.O. waiting for orders. The General had gone out. The P.M.O. wanted protection for the sick, and Annesley said plaintively, 'And my poor donkeys, sir, what's to become of them?' I could not help him, and he made the best arrangement possible. After an hour or so the troops were turned in. As we returned to our tents, we met an officer who asked if we could inform him what had occurred. My Staff Officer told him that some d——d fool of an officer had run past giving the alarm, to which he said, 'I am afraid I did that.' We asked him to our tent, and we observed him nervously handling his loaded revolver in a way that made us thankful when he went away. A day or two afterwards I met the same officer, and he asked me to lunch with him; as we had been somewhat brusque with him I made a point of

going to his tent for lunch at some inconvenience to myself, for we had discovered a beautiful waterfall with a pool at the bottom, the banks of which were covered with lovely feathery ferns like maidenhair; after being kept waiting for some time, the luncheon arrived, that is, a ration of raw meat for one, and I was expected to help to cook it! The gentleman was doubtless a good fellow, but not a practical soldier or accomplished host."

"Angels were sometimes entertained unawares. Protheroe was placed in charge of the Suru Wells. One day an old officer came up the pass. Protheroe greeted him courteously, and was asked to show the old gentleman round the camp.

"He found fault with most things as he went round, but at the end of the walk, Protheroe having offered him a drink of gin, the only liquor he possessed, the traveller said, 'Never mind what I have said to you, it is my business to find fault!' At this moment the Staff rode up, and the stranger proved to be the Commander-in-Chief!"

Prendergast was Field Engineer during the advance, and was present at the action before Magdala, where he was mentioned in despatches as having rendered singularly valuable and important services, and obtained his Brevet Lieut.-Colonelcy for this campaign after only fourteen years! Captain Wm. Chrystie, also of the Madras Engineers, obtained his Brevet Majority for the valuable work he had done, first at Zulla, after at Senafé and Adigerat, and finally at the Suru defile. These brevets were dated the same day, 15th August 1868.

CHAPTER VI

COMMAND OF MADRAS SAPPERS

ON return from Abyssinia, Prendergast reverted to his duty as deputy consulting engineer for railways at Madras, but after some six months was appointed to the command of the Madras Sappers at Bangalore. For this post he was eminently qualified, having served with the sappers in four campaigns: Persia, Malwa, Central India, and Abyssinia, and having gained his Victoria Cross, and brevets of Major and Lieut.-Colonel while serving with them. He was well acquainted with their excellent qualities as soldiers, and took the keenest interest in their welfare, and was extremely anxious to improve them in every possible way. He took up his appointment on 7th January 1869, and held the command for nearly twelve years, during which time he brought the corps to a high state of efficiency.

“Having observed that on going on service the sappers were somewhat depreciated because as parade soldiers they were not smart, I took considerable pains to improve them in that respect; drill had naturally been somewhat neglected when the men were employed in constructing the great dam across the Godavery at Dowlaishwaram (they had been employed at this work from 1855 to 1865), but the men very soon acquired the polish that was required to elicit praise from Generals of Division at the fine parades and field manœuvres under Sir Fredk. Haines, Sir Arthur Borton, General Elmhirst, and Sir Wm. Payn, and of several Commanders-in-Chief. While drill and manœuvres were

not neglected, by the formation of a rifle club the shooting of the corps was vastly improved. When the rifle instruction of the native army was seriously considered, opinions of commanding officers were required about the amount of instruction necessary for sappers. The Commandant of the Bengal Sappers was of opinion that sappers could not compete with infantry, that they therefore should only undergo a short course like the cavalry ; I did not agree with him, but his opinion was accepted, and the sappers who are armed with the short rifle have always undergone only the short cavalry course ; nevertheless they have always held their own at the meetings of the Rifle Association, and the meetings were as good as an annuity to many of the sappers on account of the money they won. So at the athletic meetings (Gymkhanas as they are called) the sappers carried off a great percentage of the prizes. But the most important duty of the commandant is to have the men handy by instruction not only in sapping and mining, field works, escalading, military bridge making, but in all trades and arts that may be required in the field, or in landing in a foreign country, such as carpentry, brick making and laying, smith's work, basket work, leather work, pottery, besides surveying, photography, lithography, printing, etc. Naturally the sappers were distinguished at all exhibitions of soldiers' work.

"The schools for the recruits and boys were so organised that the number of pupils increased tenfold, and excellent masters gave valuable instruction that was thoroughly appreciated.

"After I left the corps the Normal Military School for Schoolmasters was abolished, and schoolmasters were all sent to the Sappers' School for instruction. Long before gymnasiums had been set up elsewhere, the sappers had a very good one, consisting of ropes, bars, parallel bars, giant's stride, leaping bars, vaulting bars, horses, and a wall, and each batch of recruits had to go through a regular course of gymnastic instruction.

On one occasion when Sir Frederick Haines was inspecting the lines, His Excellency asked what was the use of the wall. I told him that the men were taught to climb up it, and then walk along the top of the wall and descend by a rope at the farther end. The conductor (Jones), who was also teacher of gymnastics, called a bricklayer who was at work close by, and ordered him to go up the wall; the fellow ran up it, and stood on his head at the top of the wall, and then went through some other feats. The Chief then asked, 'Can they all do that?' to which I was obliged to confess that he was the best gymnast in the corps, so I touched the next man who had his back to me; he was a first-rate acrobat; of course it was a plant by Conductor Jones, but it was very effective, and I was able to show real recruits another time.

"The skilful shooting was mainly due to the Adjutant (after General) Hamilton, and the success in gymnastics and in trades to Conductor (after Captain) Jones. The system of company instruction now in vogue was introduced in the sappers years before it was taken up in the British Army. I obtained the idea from Colonel Doveton Hodson of the Madras Army; I believe he adopted it more than fifty years ago in a regiment of Madras Infantry (probably the 44th Madras N.I.).

"During the early days of my command, Brigadier-General Selby, Royal Artillery, had command of the Division. He was not an expert at the minutiae of infantry drill; but was impressed with the idea that troops should work over country, so the Division turned out to manœuvre against an imaginary foe; the enemy was a creation of the General's brain, and no one understood the objects of the movements. If senior officers were discreetly silent, the British subalterns were apt to doubt the General's wisdom; and the British soldier inclined to consider the General's instructions 'bloomin' rot.' Captain Bonar Deane, who was on the staff, then suggested to the General that an enemy, a visible

and audible enemy, should be provided, in order that officers and men might profit by their exercises. I was appointed Enemy-in-Chief, commanding the sappers and European details, and generally 2 guns to represent a battery of 4.

At that time there were no rules for field manœuvres, and we began without rules, but the first time the troops came to close quarters our difficulties began, and a crude code of regulations was drawn up with a view to preventing the men sharing the fate of the Kilkenny cats! Colonel Dalzell, commanding the Royal Scots Fusiliers, after a fight complained that a sapper had fired into the face of a Fusilier and singed his whiskers! I expressed my regret for the loss of the whisker, but stated that one of my men had been shot through the arm, and another had part of his ear shot off, but I did not think it worth while to mention such trifles!

“During one of the field days the Brigadier had a severe fall from his horse, and the field manœuvres waned for a time, but we learnt something and had considerable excitement. If we had had more of them we should have become better judges of pace and distance, and poor Deane would not have lost his life in Africa.

“The game of Kriegspiel was introduced about this time. Mackenzie (formerly of the Madras Artillery), at that time in the Mysore Commission, started it, and at first the officers most interested were the gunners and sappers. The first public game was arranged between the Staff Colonel, Royal Artillery, and the Commandant of a Native Infantry Regiment, to be played at the Royal Artillery Mess; the former worked up his part with his Staff Officer but was taken ill the day before the match; however the Staff Officer was ready to fight his battle, and when his opponent arrived at the mess there was an apology from the Colonel, Royal Artillery, and a note to say that he confided his force to Captain A. who knew his views. The opponent regretted the Colonel's absence, found it very awkward to

be pitted against a captain, and especially one that had not called on his wife. However the game was played for a couple of hours, and then many officers who had not seen it before were introduced to the valuable exercise. It seems to me to give very valuable training, for the difficulty attending combined movements is made clear by it. Junior officers serving with their regiments, and Staff Officers till they gain experience, are apt to disregard the elements of time and space because their own sphere is so small that they seem to be unimportant; but he who has carefully worked out problems on the map is able to understand the anxiety of the General that his infantry shall arrive in time, and his patience in waiting for the development of his plan of action. It requires far more imagination to develop into a General, if you have had no practice in the field, or in manœuvres, or at the war game. On the other hand, quick-witted youngsters are very often very smart at the war game who would be of very little use in the field; they become prigs, but still there can be no question about the utility of the war game.

“Bangalore was a delightful station; the sportsman could shoot elephants, tigers, or panthers; the racing man looked forward to the great meetings at Mysore and Bangalore; there was a pack of hounds, plenty of cricket, football occasionally, and there was polo. Thursday was the garrison holiday, and I used often to be out with the hounds by daybreak, hurry home to breakfast, play cricket till near sunset, and finish up with a game of football.

“Polo has vastly changed since we began to play at Bangalore. I began with one rat of a pony purchased for 75 rupees; very few men played with more than one or two ponies; the game was naturally slower than it is now, as we played for half an hour without changing ends; an hour's play with only a break of five minutes would nowadays be considered cruel, though the ponies are far bigger and better bred, but we did not know

better. Sir James Gordon and his brother Captain P. L. Gordon, Mangles, V.C. of the Civil Service, Sir Richard Sankey, General R. Stewart, Surgeon-General Henderson, Messrs. Garrett, and Arathon were the most constant players. I had a very bad fall that lamed me for some years, and Henderson lost the sight of one eye, but I don't think there were many accidents though the ground was not good."

"In the year 1874-75 the first Camp of Exercise of the Madras Army was held at Bangalore. For many months before, the sappers were employed in surveying and lithographing maps of the county round Bangalore for use at the camp. A school of military signalling had also been established and admirably managed by Captain E. Begbie (now Major-General E. Begbie, C.B., D.S.O. retired) of the Sappers, and for the first time signalling by flags and heliostats was practically used during the manœuvres; owing to the skill and ingenuity and power of organisation of the instructor (Captain Begbie) the signalling was an undoubted success.

"I was Commanding Engineer and an umpire during the manœuvres, and several Engineer officers from the P. W. D. were placed on my staff who were intensely interested in military affairs with which they had not meddled since they left Chatham as youngsters. Lord Napier of Magdala was very complimentary, so was Sir Frederick Haines, the Madras Commander-in-Chief, and Sir Arthur Borton, the General of Division. I may here add that Col. Begbie was always ahead of the schools in England, and his flags and lamps were always taken on service in preference to others."

"By teaching Madras Sappers to use the Morse alphabet he was able to disprove the accepted theory that the British soldier could not be taught to use it. Though in England the British soldier was held not to be intelligent enough to use the Morse alphabet the soldiers and sappers acquitted themselves admirably."

An amusing affair happened at the time of the Camp

of Exercise. It was known to the military authorities that Lord Napier of Magdala would attend the camp, and as there was some question generally at the time in India relating to “Places of Refuge” in case of outbreaks, it was thought that Lord Napier would be sure to make inquiries on the point, so the local military authorities determined to be prepared, and ordered a committee to be formed—the President being Colonel Fuller, Commanding Artillery, Lieut.-Colonel Prendergast, Commanding Sappers, Captain Straker, Royal Artillery, in charge of the Bangalore Arsenal, and Captain Vibart, Royal Engineers, the Garrison Engineer. We had many meetings, visited all parts of the neighbourhood, and took levels of all parts. Having maturely considered the question, we selected a site in Shevenhully, not far from the railway station, and sent in a report strongly recommending the site we had chosen, and gave details of the arming, etc. Lord Napier duly came to the camp, but apparently never gave a thought to the subject, and the local military authorities took no steps to bring the matter to his notice; and the report regarding which we had taken so much pains was put away in a pigeon-hole in the military office. A few years later when a roving commission travelled about to report on this and other points, the report could not be found, and the military authorities had to apply to the Garrison Engineer for a copy of the report, which was duly sent in again. Our elaborate report was completely ignored, and a site selected near the cavalry barracks—which would have been perfectly useless—and this they resolved to fortify; so that the good work done by two Artillery officers and two Engineers proved absolutely futile, and a site was occupied which could never have been defended in case of emergency, as it was commanded by other ground, and was besides too large to be defended by such troops as could be spared for its defence. Fortunately no place of refuge has ever been wanted, and it is thought is never likely to be required.

The following remarks by Sir Harry Prendergast regarding the constitution of the Corps of Madras Sappers will prove of interest.

"During the eighteenth century (in 1780) corps of pioneers were raised, and in 1831 they were reorganised as the Madras Sappers and Miners with a commandant and adjutant. So late as the Afghan War, 1839-42, only one man in three carried arms. In 1837 the number of companies was reduced from eight to six, in 1854 there were nine companies. In 1857 the number was increased to twelve, but again in 1862 reduced to ten. Each company consisted of 120 men and officers; and in 1885 the companies were increased in strength, and the numbers reduced to six service and two dépôt companies. The sappers were recruited at headquarters of the corps; there were usually about 10 per cent. Mohammedans, 30 per cent. Christians, 20 per cent. Hindoos, and the remainder other castes. When selecting recruits no questions were asked about caste or religion, the only question was 'What can you do?' If a man said carpenter or bricklayer, or whatever he proposed, he was marched off and tested, and report was made on his work; if that was satisfactory, his measurements and eyesight good, and the medical officer passed him, he was admitted. There were generally plenty of candidates. During and after the expedition to the Mediterranean (1879) they became scarce, and the men selected for a time after that were not physically equal to those of former years. There was always the greatest eagerness to go on foreign and active service. Every man was asked (according to orders) before embarkation whether he was willing to sail; and I do not remember a single case of a man wishing to be excused. I have often been asked why it is that sappers always do well on service. The reasons seem to me to be that the men are always in good condition, are animated by strong *esprit de corps*, are sensibly treated and well fed. They are in good condition because they work

hard. If a man has six or eight hours' work in a day besides his ordinary duties as a soldier, he must feed well, and he cannot indulge in opiates, so the sapper eats meat and likes a glass of grog. He can afford this because he is paid for his work, and being employed so many hours in the day he has little leisure for fooling about in the bazaar, and spending his money. As for *esprit de corps*, the sappers pride themselves on being 'Just like master.' If you ask a sapper about his caste he will probably say he is 'Sapper Caste,' that is, he is first a sapper, and next a Mohammedan or a Hindoo or a Gentoo, so he finds that his corps is respected, and his position dignified; then the older men of the corps are covered with medals and decorations, and naturally attract the attention of all Britishers; and the old soldiers amuse and interest the young ones with yarns about their campaigns; and on service when the young ones are likely to be discouraged by hardships, the older soldiers are ready with stories of former campaigns wherein their plight was far worse. Then there is generally a good complement of officers with a company, and a few sturdy British non-commissioned officers, and throughout the corps a feeling that *noblesse oblige* was prevalent in all ranks. I remember at Secunderabad in 1886 a very painful scene. I went to the station one morning to see the last of a company that was starting by rail for Rangoon *via* Madras. I had seen a little native boy hustled out of a carriage by the guard just before the train moved off; the child and an old sapper were standing on the platform crying bitterly as they watched the red tail lights of the train; so I asked why they were weeping. The sapper said that he had been in that company all his service, and had campaigned four times with it; that a week before when blasting rock a splinter had struck him and injured his eye, and the medical officer had prevented him from going with the company, and he had lost the opportunity of foreign or active service as well as his home. The boy was the

orphan child of a sapper who had been adopted by the company and had been left desolate. He had endeavoured to go stowed away under a seat, as he was not allowed to go as a company servant. I never saw people more dejected and miserable than those two deserted beings in the dimly lighted station of Secunderabad."

"There was much camaraderie among the sappers. I remember at Mhow in 1857 my friend Maurimootoo at the Garrison Sports won a large sum of money in prizes, and at once decided to send half of it to his wife, and to spend the other half on a feast for his comrades in the company."

"During the Mutiny Campaign the comrades of the sappers were not the Bombay Infantry Regiments of the same brigade, but the 86th Royal County Downs. At Larnaka in Cyprus twenty years later there was special friendship between them and the blue-jackets of the 'Black Prince,' at that time commanded by H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh."

I cannot do better, I think, at this point than introduce the opinions of two distinguished officers who knew Sir Harry well, and served with him for a long time with the sappers. The first is Colonel Charles B. Wilkieson, Royal Engineers, who served as adjutant for seven years from 1878-85, and afterwards commanded the corps from 1890-97. In his first letter, after hearing of his death, he writes :

"No one who had ever served under him could possibly do anything else but love him," and later he says, "Prendergast always did his utmost possible to improve the corps in every way. This improvement was so steady and constant that it is difficult to name any special reform due to his initiative. The workshops at Bangalore were mostly built in his time. Any improvements had his energetic assistance."

Later Colonel Wilkieson sent me a longer paper which I propose to give more or less *in extenso*. Colonel Wilkieson served under him in the expedition to Malta

and Cyprus in 1879, was in the war in the Soudan in 1885 in command of F Company Madras Sappers, and was severely wounded in the thigh during the attack on M'Neil's Zareba on 22nd March 1885, when he refused to go to the hospital, and remained on duty for twenty-four hours until relieved by another officer. Captain Wilkieson received a Brevet Majority. He served as adjutant of sappers in the 3rd Burmese War, and was mentioned in despatches.

"As Commanding Officer he was admirable, very keen, both in soldiering and all forms of sport. Officers and men alike admired and loved him. Always hard-working himself, he trusted to every one to try their utmost. Most courteous in his bearing to every one, he set an excellent example to all. Usually strict in discipline, he had a weakness for the hard-fighting blackguard. The men who, while foremost on service, but in times of peace got a bit out of hand, found in him a lenient chief. His orderly in the Central Indian Campaign, a Madras Sapper, named Maurimootoo, was a typical example. I do not know how many times he commenced rising on the ladder of promotion. He never got any further than Lance Naik, being always reduced for drunkenness or some escapade. But Prendergast always wished to give him another chance. I remember his applying long after to Prendergast for a certificate that he had killed 13 of the enemy during the fight of the 24th November 1857 (at Goorariah). I don't know what good he anticipated from this 'chit.' Prendergast was a strong rider—quite fearless. I remember a troublesome Arab he once had with which he had many a fight, until one of the native officers, who had learnt his English from association with the British 'Tommy,' said, 'That bl—y horse will kill the Colonel some day.' He was a fine boxer and a good cricketer. Though handicapped severely by his almost useless left arm, he put up many good scores and fights. On our way to Malta we used to box daily on board ship,

and we none of us could get the better of him. He used often on Thursdays, when commanding the sappers at Bangalore, to ride to hounds in the morning, play cricket all day, and finish up with football in the evening.

"Several times between 1870 and 1880 he played cricket for Bangalore against Madras, and afterwards when a Brigadier made 93 in an innings at Bangalore, probably a record for a one-armed General in India. When Governor-General's Agent in Beluchistan he played in many cricket matches, and won a handicap foot race open to all officers. A dashing and energetic soldier, a courteous host, and a firm friend, he always held a foremost place among the gallant gentlemen of whom our country is so reasonably proud."

The second officer is Major-General E. Begbie, C.B., D.S.O., who served seventeen years with the sappers, and was in charge of the Signalling School at Bangalore for many years. He served in Abyssinia in 1867-68, in the Duffla Expedition in 1874-75, where he was Superintendent of Signalling, and the 3rd Burmese War 1885-86, when he again served in control of the signalling, and earned his C.B. and D.S.O. He writes :

"I doubt if he ever had an enemy, as his temperament was one not to give offence even to the most fastidious in social matters. I was personally and closely associated with him for eight years while he commanded the fine old corps of Madras Sappers, and I was carrying out the duties of instructor in army signalling at Bangalore. We renewed our association again in 1885 when Sir Harry entered upon the command of the 3rd Expedition against Burmah. I joined his staff in charge of all the visual signalling operations. It will be always a pleasant recollection to me that I had the good fortune to be associated with such an excellent commander, and one who was the maker of a very brilliant piece of history, namely, the annexation to the Crown of England of a territory rather larger than France after nineteen days of operations. My friendship with Sir Harry began in

1871 when he had me appointed to the Madras Sappers. During all this long period our relations were always of the most cordial kind, and I always found him the kindest of Commanding Officers to work with. He had the supreme advantage of being a thorough gentleman. During our long friendship I never once saw him out of temper—an invaluable gift in one who has to maintain discipline. We all know how plucky he was. He was a fearless rider also. I remember one morning, when I was with my class at Bangalore, he rode up, said he would show me what a capital jumper his new charger was, and then put him at the compound wall of the Wesleyan Chapel and cleared it like a bird. You may remember that the Signalling School was only separated by the road from the Wesleyan Chapel. He was also in other matters, as well as riding, a keen sportsman. His memory will always be cherished by those who served under him in the Madras Sappers.”

From May 1874 to May 1876 Sir Harry went to England on furlough, and during his absence his elder brother, Colonel Hew L. Prendergast, Royal Engineers, officiated for him. His brother held an appointment in the Public Works Department at Madras, but in former years had had close connection with the corps, having served with the corps from 1853 to 1857, and was adjutant from 1857-59.

During Harry Prendergast's absence in Europe he was nominated a Companion of the Bath for his services, and on his return he found himself in command of the Queen's Own Sappers and Miners, for during his absence in March 1876 the Viceroy and Governor-General announced, with the highest gratification, that in commemoration of the visit to India of Field-Marshal H.R.H. the Prince of Wales (afterwards King Edward VII.), the Queen had been graciously pleased to appoint H.R.H. to be Honorary Colonel of the corps of Madras Sappers and Miners, and that Her Majesty had been further graciously pleased to confer the

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distinction of being styled "Queen's Own" on the corps of Madras Sappers, and of wearing on their colours and appointments the Royal Cypher within the Garter; and Lord Napier of Magdala (at that time Governor of Gibraltar) sent to the Commandant his warm congratulations on the well-earned honour bestowed upon the corps.

CHAPTER VII

EXPEDITION TO MALTA AND CYPRUS

IN April 1878 Lord Beaconsfield determined to dispatch a force from India to the Mediterranean to show that England was prepared by every means in its power to prevent Russia from utterly crushing Turkey, and that they had resources in India of which free use would be made. Seven thousand men were ordered to embark at once for active service, the troops being selected from all three presidencies.

From Bengal, 13th B.N.I.; 21st P.N.I.; 2nd P.W.O. Goorkhas.

From Madras, 25th M.N.I., under Colonel Gib; G and H Companies Queen's Own Sappers.

From Bombay, 9th Bo. N.I.; 3rd and 5th Companies Bombay Sappers, besides cavalry and artillery.

The officers with the Madras Sappers were:—

Colonel H. N. D. Prendergast, V.C., C.B., commanding; Captain A. F. Hamilton, R.(M.)E., Staff Officer; Lieutenant C. Wilkieson, R.E., commanding H Company; Lieutenant Ellis, R.E., commanding G Company.

The whole force was under the command of Brigadier-General Macpherson, C.B., V.C., while all the four companies of sappers were under the orders of Colonel Prendergast.

On the 3rd April the two companies of Queen's Own Sappers arrived at Bombay and at once embarked. They sailed on the 2nd May in the *Canara*, accompanied by Lieutenant-Colonel M'Leod, Royal Madras Artillery.

They steamed into the Marsa Muschetto harbour of Malta, on the 26th, amidst the cheers of the British troops at Ricasali, St. Elmo, and Mauvel. The next day they disembarked and occupied the Lazaretto Barracks. Two days after the Bombay Sappers arrived, under the command of Major J. H. Cruickshank, Royal (Bombay) Engineers.

While in Malta the sappers were employed in handling the parks, looking after the water supply, covering in all the hospital huts and tents of British soldiers with bamboos, thatch, or tarpaulins; they also did various work in the way of hutting, bridging, etc.

On 12th June the Governor of Malta (Sir Arthur Borton, K.C.B., who had known the Queen's Own at Bangalore a few years before), paraded the troops; and on the 17th all the troops in Malta were inspected by H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge.

Prendergast thus describes their coming to Malta to a friend:

"We have been in Malta about three weeks. It is a very interesting place; every one lives in the palace of some old knight or group of knights, with stone walls at least 6 feet thick, with fine staircases and large rooms. By 'every one' I mean all except the Indian troops. We are in tents, or in the rooms of the Quarantine Establishment; for myself I have rooms at the Lazaretto, and it is strange to see my men, Turks, infidels, and heretics, in the Lazaretto Hospital, built by the knights for the accommodation of the sick and wounded Christians in the wars between the Crescent and the Cross. We received a perfect ovation as we sailed into the harbour, cheers rose from battery after battery, and regiment after regiment, as we passed the different forts. Since then we have been hospitably received by society, and the Indian soldiers have been handsomely treated by the British soldiers and by the Maltese.

"The British soldiers walk about hand in hand with

gigantic Pathans, and drink their grog with ebony Tamils. The Maltese are filled with surprise and curiosity, as they swarm into the camps of the Goorkhas and Sikhs. The new Governor, Sir Arthur Borton, is an old friend of mine; Sir Victor Houston, the Chief Secretary, and Mr. Christian, the leading banker, are great friends of my father, and I have, of course, many military friends, so I am well off. Then there is plenty to do in the way of water supply, hutting in the troops, landing-stages for cavalry and artillery, besides daily parades of the whole force of the Indian Contingent, so time does not hang heavily, and, in fact, the day is too short for all that one has to do. The residents and garrison say that the heat is very great, but I have not had leisure to find it out. The Duke of Cambridge is expected to-day, and there is to be an assault of arms while he is here. The Indian Force has offered to play against the Garrison at anything and everything—cricket, football, pigeon-shooting, tennis, racquets, polo, running, etc. I am rather glad that the cricket match is not to come off, as I should have been in the Eleven; and they play on a sheet of stone with asphalte between the wickets. The men are very much disappointed at the prospect of peace, but will be somewhat mollified if they are taken to Hyde Park or Aldershot if the Congress results in peace. I do hope that something will be settled soon, as it is not for the benefit of Malta that so great an addition has been made suddenly to its population, and the success of the splendid project of bringing an army from the East would be marred by the outbreak of an epidemic which might occur."

At noon, on the 10th July, orders were received for the Madras Sappers to be ready to embark for Cyprus at 5 p.m. The G Company was at San Antonio, and the H at Lazaretto. Carts, etc., had to be secured for the former. The order for the Bombay Sappers was received at 6 p.m. (half the 5th Company Bombay

Sappers was left behind at Malta in charge of the Bombay Park). Shortly after midnight all the sappers were on board the *Canara* and ready to start. Next day, before noon, the *Canara* sailed under orders for Cyprus, and reached Larnaka on 16th. The orders received were of the vaguest description, so much so, that it was not known whether the sappers would have to take the island or not. On arrival a commencement was made to land the siege train, which was continued till the 19th, when the last man landed. Light landing-stages were constructed for the disembarkation of the troops expected the following week, and the Royal Navy, under H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh, commenced building a pier in which the Queen's Own Sappers rendered assistance under Colonel Prendergast. Orders were now received to choose a camp for 10,000 men, and to make arrangements for landing, transporting, and feeding them. There were but five days to do this in, and when required the sappers could show six piers, a road to the camp at Chifflik, and water-supply troughs at the camp, with carriage enough to take the regiments on as they landed. The sappers became very friendly with the sailors, and H.R.H. took a great interest in the sappers (both officers and men), who helped very materially in building the Duke's pier by swimming about all day taking out timbers to their places. To procure timber the sappers had to forage about, pull down old houses, and search the bazaars, and as every man in Cyprus as a general rule lies, it was difficult to do or get anything unless you set about it yourself.

On the 22nd July Sir Garnet Wolseley arrived, and on the 24th and 25th Major Hamilton, Royal Madras Engineers, accompanied him on his visit to Famagousta and Limasole, to select camping-grounds for the Native Infantry, and inquire into the water supply. Lieut. Wilkieson was directed to report on the road between Larnaka and Nicosia, while Lieuts. Lindley and Attree surveyed the country between Famagousta and Nicosia.

On the 26th the G and H Companies moved into camp outside Larnaka, leaving half a company of the Bombay Sappers with the Bombay Park, which had now arrived. A line of visual signalling was started between Chifflik and the sapper camp with heliostat, and from the sapper camp to Marina by flag, which was much used by the Commissariat Department. After the arrival of the 3rd Company Royal Engineers this was superseded by a wire.

Mr. Archibald Forbes, the Special Correspondent of the *Daily News*, thus writes of the Madras Sappers :

“Tramping back along the sun-scorched strand, running the gauntlet of numerous donkeys and smells more numerous than donkeys, I found myself back again on the east flank of the Marina close to the jetty which the bluejackets had been constructing. Here I found a half-melted engineer officer trying to overcome the *vis inertiae* of a very miscellaneous batch of native labourers—Turks, Greeks, and nondescripts. In marked contrast to their pottering was the honest labour at the road-making of the Madras Sappers and Miners—dark, lissom fellows, stripped to the dhotie, and streaming at every pore, but working steadily on at their heavy toil, with the cheery contentment of willing men; to look at them did one good, although it scarcely made him cooler.”

At first Major Prendergast was the senior engineer officer in Cyprus, and would in the ordinary course have been C.R.E. ; but Lieut.-Colonel Macquay was sent out from England, and being about six months' senior to Prendergast as Lieut.-Colonel, Royal Engineers (although two years younger and junior to him in the army), became C.R.E. Colonel Prendergast therefore returned to India on 25th August.

All the companies of sappers were a good deal impaired in strength by the almost universal fever.

The Madras and Bombay Sappers remained in Cyprus, doing excellent work, till the end of October,

and then returned to Bombay, leaving Cyprus in the *Simoom* on 2nd November, and landed at Bombay on the 20th of the month.

Colonel Prendergast in his report stated :

“The conduct and efficiency of the sappers (officers and men) were remarkable even in a picked force such as the Indian Expeditionary Force; that the Queen’s Own Sappers proved themselves not inferior to the Royal Engineers and Bombay Sappers in any respect; that no task was imposed upon them which they could not perform right well; that the labour of preparing piers, roads, watering and slaughtering arrangements for a force of all arms 11,000 strong, together with the landing of a Royal Engineer park and Commissariat stores in five days was accepted cheerfully by all ranks; and that the fatigue of landing, sorting, and setting up huts in the most inclement weather was undergone with no less alacrity and goodwill.”

There were a few casualties among the four companies of the sappers: two non-commissioned and six men and followers died, and five officers, two non-commissioned, and eleven men were invalided. Colonel Prendergast thanked Major Hamilton “for his valuable services,” and added that “the officers commanding companies—Lieuts. Wilkieson and Ellis—deserve high praise; while Conductor Jones acquitted himself admirably as officer in charge of the park, a most important and onerous duty.”

On 31st October the following order was published by Sir Garnet Wolseley (afterwards Field-Marshal Viscount Wolseley).

“The Madras and Bombay Sappers, being about to embark for India, the Lieut.-General cannot allow them to leave the command without placing upon record his sense of the valuable work they have done in this island.” And in permitting Colonel Prendergast to proceed to India he desired that the Commanding Royal Engineer “will inform him of Sir Garnet

- Wolseley's appreciation of the excellent work done by himself, and the officers and men under his command, in this island."

Brigadier - General Macpherson, C.B., V.C., in taking leave of the troops under his command at Malta and Cyprus, "offered to all his very best thanks for the admirable discipline that has been maintained throughout the expedition under circumstances of no ordinary temptation. The highest authority in the army has represented to Her Most Gracious Majesty his high appreciation of their soldier-like bearing in terms of which every individual of the Indian Contingent must feel justly proud."

It will be of interest to enter here Colonel Prendergast's own account of the expedition to Malta and Cyprus.

"The destination of the force was not known even to the Commander-in-Chief of Madras, but he very kindly and wisely gave me carte blanche to draw what I required from the Madras Arsenal, besides a quantity of other stores laid down in the tables for a field park. I demanded a great number of bamboos, which were much appreciated afterwards. Sir Charles Staveley, the Commander-in-Chief of the Bombay Army, was in ill-health, but the Governor, Sir Richard Temple, was very active and personally interested in the embarkation of the force, which was accomplished with extraordinary rapidity.

"Even when we went on board we did not know whether we were going to Kurrachee, and so to Afghanistan, or not; and having arrived at Port Said we were in doubt whither we should be conveyed till the sailing orders were opened and we found that we were destined for Malta. The A.Q.M.G. came to me one afternoon to consult regarding the tools required for building log huts; he had heard that we were to go to Cyprus, an island covered with wood and forests, and that he must be prepared to hut the men. I gave

him the requisite information, but also explained that cutting down forests and building houses would take men unaccustomed to the work a very long time; but we found out that planking was to be had in Valetta, and by the exertions of some of my young officers I had plans and estimates for the construction of huts for 20,000 men ready for the General at ten the next morning. Next morning, however, the General said that I was to embark at once and sail that afternoon for Cyprus, and would not look at my project for hutting the force.

"At 5 in the afternoon General Sir John Ross, commanding the Indian Expeditionary Force, came on board, and with him the Secretary to the Governor of Malta, bringing my orders, which were to proceed to Larnaka, in Cyprus, taking with me the sappers and ordnance stores. I was to land the sappers and stores and select a camping-ground for Sir Garnet Wolseley's force, and to prepare roads, water supply, slaughter-houses, etc., for them. I was asked if the orders were clear, or if I had any remarks to make. I asked, 'How am I to pay for what I do?' Second, 'I do not know the political situation. Am I to fly the British flag in Cyprus?' Third, 'If the people in Cyprus oppose us, am I to land?' The Secretary said that he couldn't answer, but on the morrow, before we sailed on the s.s. *Canara*, I received a semi-official note from Sir A. Borton, saying that I could draw to any extent on the Ottoman Bank, but that, as regards the other two questions, he would rely on my experience and discretion. A glance at the map showed that Cyprus is an island 120 miles long and about 50 wide at the broader part; from the paragraph devoted to Cyprus in Murray's handbook very little information was gleaned, and the only remaining source of knowledge was the Admiralty chart showing the Larnaka roadstead, so we sharpened our swords and waited anxiously the development of the adventure. As we approached Larnaka we could see

that there were big ships there, and on close inspection they proved to be British men-of-war. The commander of the *Canara* anchored at a great distance from the shore, but we began to land our stores, proceeding as if we were in face of the enemy. We at once took possession of the Lazaretto, and converted it into a dépôt for stores. Shore boats were hired to convey the stores to the beach. Captain Algernon Lyons and the other naval officers offered to assist in every way, but I preferred to hire boats and do the work my own way. The naval officers pressed me to employ their boats and steam launches ; at last I agreed to take a steam launch for my own use, and at their earnest request next day accepted Royal Navy steam launches to tug my shore boats. The navy seemed much astonished to find soldiers who were independent of them, and could do their own work, and they were always willing to assist me. Captain Lyons lent me all the fire-engines on board the ships, a quantity of paint and tar that I required, and last, but not least, gave me the use of a strong working party of carpenters and shipwrights to assist in building my piers. The most useful person on shore at Larnaka was Dr. Heidoustann, the medical officer, who put me in communication with contractors for stone and timber ; and before I had been on shore a couple of hours offers had been given for most things that I required, and I had three mules at my disposal.

“Admiral Lord John Hay came down from Nikosia, the capital of Cyprus, during the night, after my arrival at Larnaka. As he called at my ship after I had gone to bed, I had to return his visit that night, and had a talk with him, and next morning we had a long day’s work in the town, and I took him to see the ground that I had selected for the camp for Sir Garnet Wolseley’s force. We started at seven in the morning and did not get back till two or three to breakfast. The Duke of Edinburgh called on the Admiral during breakfast, and when I mentioned that I should want naval

carpenters for building my piers, H.R.H. expressed a wish to be employed. As Lord John Hay had gone on shore, I wrote before dinner to ask Captain Lyons privately to let me have a party of carpenters next day, mentioning that H.R.H. seemed to wish to have something to do with it. The heat was very great, and I had plenty of work, so was glad to turn in at a reasonable hour. When I was 'sleeping the sleep of the just' there was a rap at my cabin door, and I was warned that the Duke of Edinburgh had come to see me. He very considerably offered to let me lie in bed and come in to see me; however, I besought him to go on deck, and very soon tumbled into my uniform and followed him. He had come to discuss the work to be done on the morrow, took a memorandum book out of his pocket, sketched a pile pier, and asked if that would do. The design was simple and good, and was adopted at once. After refreshments and cigarettes till between two and three in the morning, H.R.H. left me, saying, 'I will call for you at 5.30 a.m.' At the appointed time the Duke came, and about 60 men of the navy were already on their way to the shore. I handed over timber that the sappers had taken from the roofs of houses, and I had no more trouble about that pier till the timber was finished, when the Duke applied to me for more. I confessed that I did not know where it was to come from, as my contractors had only supplied light spars, whereas the Duke's pier was constructed of heavy timber; however, H.R.H. had observed some suitable pieces that I had not seen in the town, and when I authorized him to do so, at once went in a steam launch and towed some of the timber to the pier head.

"During the four days before Sir Garnet Wolseley's arrival a camp had been chosen at Chifflik, 4 miles from Larnaka. The water supply was a karez running a little below the surface, and water was obtained by working the fire-engines as light pumps to raise it 10 or 12 feet to the surface; water-troughs for the horses were

prepared down-stream at a place where the water was carried above ground ; two roads had been made from the shore to the camp ; bakeries and slaughter-houses had been prepared, and commissariat transport arrangements had been made. Besides the navy pier for landing heavy stores, four light ones had been constructed by the sappers for landing troops and lighter stores. The army service equipment had been landed, and the most necessary part of the engineer stores. We were nearly exhausted by the work, but the arrangements were wonderfully good, and officers and men deserved the greatest credit for it. Amongst the things that we would rather have had otherwise may be mentioned the telegrams ; they came through Turkey, and several of them were quite unintelligible. It is bad enough to have telegrams of any kind when working hard on one's own responsibility ; but it was very irritating to have illegible messages. The first wire I received warned me not to serve out lime juice to the men. The voyage from Malta was so short that the bottles had not been touched ; but after receiving the message a bottle was at once opened, and it was found to be 'disinfecting fluid'—a rank poison ! Some of them had been given to the Punjab Cavalry at Malta, and so it was found out when 40 or 50 troopers were rolling and writhing on the ground in agony that the wrong fluid had been put in the lime juice bottles. Then the Maltese carts had been sent without linchpins, and were for the moment useless.

"The afternoon before Wolseley arrived the water supply went wrong, and we had not a drop at the Lazaretto. I rode out to Chifflik and traced the aqueduct thence to within six or eight hundred yards of our tents ; but the fault seemed to be underground, so I tried to obtain the plans of the pipes, but these were not correct, and I spent the greater part of the night in trying to find the leak or stoppage. At four in the morning I galloped out to see if the transport animals

and carts had arrived or were coming; they were due the preceding day, but very few had come in; but on riding inland I could see columns of dust raised by them in different directions. On returning to camp several ships were already in the roads, and I went on board to pay my respects to Sir Garnet Wolseley. He was accompanied by a very strong staff—all his old friends and admirers were there; they were very anxious to know what sort of climate there was. I pronounced, 'Hot but good'—good because we were working nearly twenty hours a day, and no one had suffered. The practical Military Secretary asked, 'What time were you up this morning?' I said, 'Before four.' Military Secretary: 'What time did you go to bed?' I said, 'Past two.' Baker Russell asked no more questions!

"It is to be remembered that the race or calling of 'boories' or professional dhooly-bearers had died out, and that the men nowadays taken on service to carry dhoolies are picked up anywhere, men quite unaccustomed to the work for which they are paid. On arrival at Malta the medical officers very properly drilled these men at carrying the dhoolies, but the Maltese, who are nervous, got a scare that there was cholera or some other evil disease among the soldiers. The dhoolies themselves were faulty, for, owing to knocking about on shore and on board ship, all the Bombay dhoolies were unserviceable, and quite half of the Bengal dhoolies. The Madras Sappers had their 'Muncheels,' which had not suffered at all on the journey. The 'Muncheel' is just a teak frame covered with basket-work like a chair seat, connected by chains with a shoulder bar.

"At Malta it was necessary to provide a substitute for the dhooly, and for this purpose a frame was made of bamboos like an ordinary bamboo door or gate, and this frame was suspended by rattlings from a bamboo shoulder pole; it was very light, weighing only from 20 to 25 lb., was very strong, almost indestructible,

and very clean. In case of being soiled by blood, a bucket of water dashed over it would clean it. The frame made an excellent cot in camp; in fact, it had all the requisites of a litter to be used for skirmishers who had to be taken to the first dressing-place. Any Oriental can carry it for a long distance. Carrying a weight on one shoulder may be unscientific, but it is practical, and I believe universal, in countries where weights are carried on the shoulder. The cost of the suspended structure in India, Burmah, or China would be less than ten shillings, in some places not more than two or three shillings. The morning that Wolseley arrived I was starting for Chifflik to show the camping-ground to the staff officers, when my horse fell and rolled over me; a dhooly was brought to carry me to my tent, but it broke down before I had been carried 50 yards. When I was able to move I sent for crutches, but not a crutch had been sent with the troops or hospitals. My bamboos were very useful in making stretchers, crutches, and platforms for ambulance carts, for frames, for thatching soldiers' tents, for building temporary stables, and for many other purposes.

"The Duke of Edinburgh took a great interest in the sappers and was very cordial with the officers. He was appointed beach-master the day that Wolseley arrived, and was the hardest worked officer in camp. Yet he found time and made a point of visiting me and sitting with me for half an hour twice every day in my little hot, dirty tent, and prescribed for me himself. He has really acquitted himself admirably on this expedition. He performed his duties, which were by no means easy, in excellent style.

"Our stay in Cyprus was short, as 'Peace with Honour' had been arranged by Lords Beaconsfield and Salisbury at the Congress.

"We learnt by bitter experience that to camp on damp ground or near water in Cyprus induced fever; from 50 to 75 per cent. of men in some corps were

struck down by fever after the first shower of rain, which lasted only ten minutes.

"It was pleasant to have a roll call of workmen Aristides, Themistocles, Demosthenes, and so on, and it was amusing to hear Sophocles showing cause why he shouldn't be fined for shirking work.

"It was humiliating to find that no man could understand one's best Greek (as taught at school) though one could read the Greek newspaper without much difficulty. There is no doubt that if boys at school were taught Homer and Xenophon by a modern Greek they would be saved a vast amount of time and trouble, and would be qualified to read and speak modern Greek with very little study, and would have no difficulty about the accents. My friend Major-General H. T. Rogers, Royal Engineer, has tried this system and is quite emphatic on the subject.

"In raising the police for Cyprus, plenty of candidates came forward, but it was with the greatest difficulty that any one could be found to go on duty from midnight till four in the morning.

"I had to engage a number of interpreters; any man who could speak English and Turkish, or English and Greek, was engaged at once on half a guinea a day; men who could speak French and Turkish or Greek were also valuable, and a few Italians who knew the languages of the country; but candidates came who spoke two or three continental languages and promised to learn Greek and Turkish in a fortnight. The Madras Sappers are in the habit of picking up languages; at Malta they very soon ingratiated themselves with the natives, were quite at home in the houses of basket-makers, carpenters, and other small tradesmen, and they were soon on speaking terms with the Turkish men and Greek women.

"Before I had been two days in Larnaka I observed that a house facing the sea was being repaired and whitewashed, and a jetty being constructed in front of

it. On inquiry I found that this was a Café Chantant."

"When you pay a visit in Cyprus the servant of your host brings in a tray bearing glasses of cold water, teaspoons, and bowls containing preserves. Two of my officers, who had done a good morning's work surveying, were puzzled by the tray and its contents, but, boldly seizing spoons, put some of the jam into a glass of water and drank it bravely; the custom is to take a spoonful of jam, eat it, drink a little water, and leave your spoon in the glass."

"The first survey party that I sent out was found by Mrs. Heidoustann in a cottage some miles from Larnaka all suffering from fever and half-starved, so she took them to her country house and Dr. Heidoustann went out and befriended them. Heidoustann, knowing that I was crippled by my fall, recommended me to ride a mule as more comfortable, and as having easier paces than my charger, and offered, as an act of friendship, to let me have his wife's mule, quite young but very steady, which would carry me 80 miles a day if I chose. I was not in a condition to try the animal, which he proposed to bring up for trial next day, but the surgeon of the sappers, who had to visit a detachment 18 miles off on the morrow, volunteered to ride him. This was a fair trial, as the surgeon was fat and heavy. The next afternoon Dr. Heidoustann was with me when the surgeon returned. He came in at a startling pace—the mule finished over the stone wall, leaving the surgeon on the flat of his back.

"The mule was evidently in good condition, but seemed hardly the mount for a lame man. After the surgeon had been brushed and refreshed, we discussed his ride. The mule was on his best behaviour going out, he got a good meal at his journey's end, but was a perfect devil all the way back. 'Did you take the bit out of his mouth?' asked Dr. Heidoustann. 'Yes, I had him made quite comfortable,' replied the surgeon. 'Ah,

that's what caused the trouble, you should never have taken off his bit, if he is going farther the same day.'

"It seemed to the mule to be beyond the contract when he was asked to return the same day, and so he naturally did not go quietly! I did not require the brute, but I was interested in learning this peculiarity of the Cyprus mule."

"I was watching a detachment of sappers marching off to a new camp one afternoon, and observed that two of them fell out of the ranks (went to Dr. Heidoustann in the Lazaretto), and wrung the necks of two fowls and put them in their haversacks. Dr. Heidoustann must have been looking on also, but made no complaint, but he at once sold all his poultry to the Mess.

"Venus and her friends visited Cyprus before the Turks got possession of it, and it may have been a pleasant place in her days, but these foolish Turks taxed all trees instead of taxing their produce, and taxed them so heavily that a tree could not yield the equivalent of its tax, so of course all the trees have been cut down, and the country is as bare and hot (about 106 in the tents) as the plains of India, though capable of producing anything. We buy 15 or 20 lb. of delicious grapes for 1s., and turkeys from 1s. 6d. to 2s. each when we arrived—but now cost as much as in England.

"The people are civil, picturesque, and dirty.

"My orders were so vague that we were prepared for resistance, and had our swords sharpened on board ship, so the disappointment of the young officers and men was grievous when the enemy received us with open arms.

"In the week before Sir Garnet Wolseley arrived, we had to land the men and tents and the engineer park, make six piers, find a good camping ground—which is about $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the sea—and to make roads and repair the aqueduct. My officers were nearly exhausted, but the work was done.

"The Duke of Edinburgh volunteered to make a

pier for me, and was on it from five in the morning till sunset ; it was most creditable to him, and he was on the pleasantest terms with us all.

“ You have no idea what a refreshing thing a shower of rain is till you feel it in a hot climate. After a morning sandstorm we are enjoying an afternoon of rain. I hope my men will be provided with specially warm clothing before the regular rains set in, or that we shall all be sent back to India before then.”

CHAPTER VIII

MILITARY SECRETARY AND BRIGADIER-GENERAL

PRENDERGAST left Cyprus for India on 25th August 1878, and, on his return, he acted for a short time as Military Secretary to the Madras Government. This was during the governorship of the Duke of Buckingham. At this time Sir Neville Chamberlain was Commander-in-Chief, and when he was despatched on a special mission to Kabul, General Elmhirst, C.B., in command of the Mysore Division, became provincial Commander-in-Chief.

Sir Neville Chamberlain's mission was refused passage through the Khyber Pass, and, early in October, war with Afghanistan began. It was arranged to send a force to Kandahar under General Primrose, and Prendergast was named Commanding Engineer to the Division. He afterwards sent companies of the Queen's Own up to the Khyber, and put his own name down to go with them; but his name was struck out, as he had been nominated to Primrose's force.

The Staff of Primrose's division was not after all made up as at first intended, and Prendergast in consequence missed the first phase of the war; and when the second began, in September 1879, he had just started for England to recruit his strength, and although he returned within three months he was too late to join it. This was a keen disappointment to him, but, as was usual with him, he accepted his bad fortune with equanimity, content to do his best for his country.

The following remarks by himself regarding the post of Military Secretary will be of interest—

“The work was not very heavy. In addition to the Governor and Commander-in-Chief there were two civilian members who formed the Council; the office was excellent, and it was interesting to me to see how the government was carried on. It struck me that the Military Secretary should be conversant with the details of the army, and be in touch with commanding officers and with the feelings of the rank and file of the army. I found that the members of Council often gave very useful opinions and advice on military matters, and that the Commander-in-Chief was well-versed in civil affairs, especially as they were carried on in the Punjab. His Grace the Governor prided himself on not only holding the reins, but using the whip also. He interfered sometimes in military affairs, and also showed his knowledge of railways and engineering.”

The following remarks will show Prendergast's keenness as a soldier: “War was imminent, and it was arranged to send a brigade of Madras troops and another of Bombay troops under General Primrose to Kandahar. I was named as Commanding Engineer to the Division, M'Master as brigadier, Arbuthnot as A. A. G., and the troops selected were from the Mysore Division. I at once wrote to Brabazon Pottinger who was named Q.M.G. of the Division, and was on Primrose's Staff, but he could give me no information as to the duties on which we should be employed; so, later, I wrote to General Primrose himself, saying that the authorities were quite prepared to help me in every way, and that I would have an engineer park ready if I was only told whether I had to make roads or railways, set up telegraphs, or had only sapping and mining to do. His answer was curt and discouraging, and to the effect that he had received no orders to take the field, and that an officer of my standing ought to know what he should take on service.” It is abundantly clear that General Primrose was not in any way so keen a soldier as Prendergast!

Prendergast acted as Military Secretary for some four months, and, very soon after his return to the command of the sappers, he was appointed Brigadier-General in command of Malabar and Canara. He joined at Cannanore, September 1880. Below is the account of his arrival at the place—

“When driving from the station I was struck by its deserted aspect; on asking who lived in the first house, the answer was, Major A. used to live there; and in the second, Captain B. had lived there; Colonel C. had left the third, and so on. There were beautiful avenues of trees, but only one British regiment and one native regiment in the district to occupy Cannanore, Mangalore, Calicut, and Malliapuram. It was a misty, drizzling afternoon when I drove up to a house, the servants were on the steps awaiting my arrival, which, of course, was heralded by the tonga coachman bugling as he passed through the cantonment. I asked the leading domestic, ‘Whose house is this?’ ‘General’s house, sir.’ ‘Who are you?’ ‘General’s butler, sir.’ ‘Why are you the General’s butler?’ ‘Always General’s butler, sir—butler to twelve Generals!’ This was Ramen, a very respectable old Tier. He showed me all over the house, very dark and gloomy on a wet day with the eaves coming down low, covering very broad verandahs. It was rather depressing; I had not seen any one, so I asked Ramen what do people do at this time of day? ‘Nothing, sir.’ ‘But what did the last General do?’ ‘Nothing, sir.’ ‘What do the ladies do?’ ‘Nothing, sir!’ ‘What do the young officers do?’ ‘Nothing, sir!’

“An officer who had been on the staff had told me that the ladies used to bathe in the sea in front of the General’s house, so I thought I would have a swim, and was conducted to the cliff, at the bottom of which ladies could paddle. As I was looking down, I was hailed by Surgeon Nicholson—known as ‘Snakes’ Nicholson on account of his knowledge of snakes—who asked me what I was going to do, and advised me not to bathe, ‘as there

were dangerous eddies there,' and, he added 'General Knox Gore used to stand just where you are and shoot sharks!' Cannanore had an evil reputation, the rainfall was said to be 200 inches in the year, and I think it really was about 120 or 130; and it was further said that horses all became weak in the loins, but, practically, if you looked after them carefully and took care that the land wind did not blow on them in their stables, they did very well."

"I had 'Arabs' and 'Walers' there which worked for me for many years after I left Cannanore. The air was loaded with moisture, and if you slept with a window open and allowed the land wind to touch you, you stood a great chance of suffering from stroke of the wind—a painful sort of temporary paralysis. It was the custom to drive in bullock coaches because bullocks did not mind the rain—the coaches were great, heavy broughams with thatched pent roofs over them; the draft bullocks were fine, big, strong animals—but the small Malabar cattle are a great nuisance. If your garden gate is left open they enter and eat all the flowers; having satisfied their hunger or cleared the beds, they go to sleep in your verandah. You give orders that they are to be taken to the pound, but it is impossible to catch them; they are as fleet as deer, and climb like goats. If at last they are driven into a corner they lie down, and if you want them to go to the pound you have to carry them there every inch of the way. Your whole establishment is worn out before you get one of the offenders to the pound, and then its owner is fined four annas (about 4½d).

"During the rains it was necessary to shut up the drawing-room that faced the sea; boots were covered with mildew, the bindings of books came off; photographs and engravings were spotted and spoilt. No wonder people did nothing! However, there were compensations; the vegetation was luxuriant, beautiful caladiums sprouted out where you did not expect them; every wall, fence, and

cutting covered itself with feathery ferns. No wonder people did nothing in such a place. Driving to the Mall in the evening we used always to see one Colonel reclining in a long-armed chair with his feet up in the verandah; as we returned the same Colonel was always in the same chair, but moved into the garden, still with his feet up, and in airy costume, and my children used always to point him out as the Colonel taking exercise! Everything was slack, but encouragement and example were the only things wanted. Cricket was started, and we had a match every week, and very soon numbers of men were at practice every night. Then the drill was brushed up, and route marching, cross-country work, and sham fights were organized. The country was cut up into little plots of ground divided from one another by banks, so the troops had to be manœuvred and the work was accordingly different from that on a flat level plain."

"When Alexander Cadell, R.A., commanded the brigade, and Robert Cadell was Inspector-General of Ordnance, mountain guns were sent to Cannanore Fort with the idea that in case of a Moplah outbreak they should be carried on the backs of Commissariat elephants and brought into action against the Moplahs who, though brave and fanatical, have serious objections to being cut to pieces by fragments of shells. A few days after my arrival I ordered the battery to parade as if required for action.

"The elephants were paraded and so were the guns, but it took an hour and a half to load the quietest elephant; the animals were afraid of the guns and there were no proper appliances for getting the ordnance on to the backs of the elephants; besides this the back-water and estuaries of rivers on the way south towards the Moplahs, had to be crossed either on rafts or on bridges of boats which would not bear the weight of elephants; so the elephants were most unsatisfactory transport animals for the western coast, and after all

they could only carry about 1000 lbs., and a country cart would do that, and the little mountain guns could be run into a truck or country cart in $1\frac{1}{2}$ minutes, and could be brought into action from a cart in far less time than from an elephant. So I quite determined that in case of disturbance the mountain guns and limbers should travel comfortably in carts instead of on heavy turbulent expensive elephants. In most parts of the world I have found the Government elephant a fraud, who costs a great deal, and does very little work, and generally goes on the sick list or dies when you want him most. The wild elephant always marches at night; troops in the field generally require an elephant to march by day."

Later, he wrote more cheerfully of the place after having been there for a month. "I wish you could pay me a visit at Cannanore for it is really a delightful place. My house stands about 80 yards from the sea on a cliff 50 or 60 feet high, so one witnesses the glorious sunsets over the sea. The land views are also very fine, reaching to the mountains of Coorg and the Western Ghats. The larks sing in the mornings as cheerily as if they were in England. Steamers from Bombay and Madras call every Monday, and the nearest railway station is at Beypore, about 70 miles off.

"That seventy miles of road is through magnificent avenues of trees and highly cultivated rice fields the whole way. Then we are close to the gold fields of the Wynaad, whither people are foolish enough to send their machinery and money. We are very cheerful in this cantonment, and are to have two cricket matches, and a day of sports for officers and men this week. The 2nd Battalion 16th Foot is here, and 34th Madras Regiment, and I hope to have another regiment soon. Mr. Williams is our chaplain, very energetic, but not in good health. Then there is a Moplah Rajah here, but he is in disgrace, receives no salutes, and we are not on visiting terms; and a number of smaller rajahs are

to be found in the neighbourhood. I have also an exiled Burmese Prince under surveillance of the police, and there is a French Settlement at Mahé, 20 miles off, whose Chief I must fraternize with some day soon. It was a severe trial to leave my beloved sappers; the companies from Afghanistan will be back at their headquarters to-morrow (11th October), and it would have been gratifying to meet them after their campaign. On further acquaintance with the Duke of Buckingham and Sir Neville Chamberlain I had real respect for both of them as thoroughly conscientious, hard-working public servants. The latter was much astonished that I really liked secretarial work, perhaps it was its novelty that attracted me to it."

In the cold weather of 1879-80 General Prendergast went on a tour to inspect the southern districts of Madras. Colonel A. G. Hutchins, who was his D.A.Q.M.G., accompanied him as Staff Officer. They first went to Trichinopoly (where they stayed with Colonel Frank Weldon of 6th Madras Infantry) and duly inspected the 6th and 21st Madras Native Infantry. During the inspection on the Putur Maidan, the General sent his Staff Officer to request a lady, who was on a noisy pony, and would insist on coming to the inspection, to move off the grounds as her pony was causing the General's horse to give trouble. After leaving Trichinopoly, they went to Palam-cottah, and inspected the detachment there, staying a night *en route* at Madura with Sir Philip Hutchins, the judge at Madura. From Palam-cottah to Trevandrum and thence to Quilon, Cochin, and Trichoor, and to Cannanore again by steamer from Calicut. A few days later they proceeded to Mangalore by steamer, and returned by land, where the General took much interest in visiting the old ruined fortified lines at Cassagode and Baikal, some 25 to 30 miles south of Mangalore. "When on the backwater between Trevandrum and Trichor we used to sit on long-armed chairs on the

top of the cabin and watch the rowers. The General was in the habit of finding likenesses among rowers to certain old friends, one especially he likened to Colonel R. Cadell.

"I found the General a most pleasant companion, but he seldom said anything about himself, very quiet, but most pleasant, and a splendid man to serve under, and one for whom I had always the greatest respect and esteem. When the great camp of exercise came on at Bangalore in 1880-81 I was ordered from Bellary to join General Prendergast's Staff, the late Sir Wm. Gatacre being A.Q.M.G. I then, of course, saw a great deal of him, and again found him most pleasant to serve under. I wish I was able to say more of him, but I was much struck by the very thorough way he used to go into all matters of detail, and his ready grasp of anything important in connection therewith."

Prendergast made the following remarks regarding this time: "We had some very good field manœuvres, but I was much impressed with the possible injustice that might be done to officers by confidential reports on them, founded on the General's inspection which would take only a few hours." "During the rains I took leave to Bangalore, and was appointed President of a Committee on the dress of the Madras Army, and enjoyed plenty of cricket. An innings of 93 was my best score (in the match North *v.* South), not a bad score for a General who can use only one arm."

Sir Philip Hutchins writes: "My recollections of him (Harry Prendergast) are chiefly connected with cricket. Indeed I have an old Madras photograph with our arms linked together (in the Madras colours of black and magenta). If his left arm had been sound, he would have been an acquisition to any eleven. As it was, he could only hit with one hand, merely steadying his bat with the left before hitting, but such was the power of that right arm that I well remember his making a drive for five at Chépâk. On several occasions,

too, he bowled for Madras on the same ground with great effect. In the field he generally stood point, and he was useful there, though, of course, he could do little with his left hand. Apart from cricket, I had a great admiration for his private character and military genius. I remember a visit to the Bangalore camp when he was in command of the attacking force. The other side had such an opinion of his ingenuity that they forecasted all sorts of possible and impossible methods of attack. Had he been aware of how they had prepared themselves, he would probably have marched quite quietly along the high road, and very probably he did so! His early promotion was really a misfortune to him, for when he became a Lieut.-General, although *still at his best*, there was no military work open to him. Both the Government of Madras and the Government of India did what they could for him, and I believe helped to get him his temporary political appointments in Mysore, Baroda, etc."

From Cannanore, Prendergast was transferred to the command of the ceded districts in 1881, with headquarters at Bellary, and he left Cannanore in April "without much sorrow." "It was a very pretty place, but a good one to get away from. We were the oldest inhabitants except Mr. Williams. He and his wife used to suffer from fever, but he declined offers of other stations. My house was delightfully situated on a cliff overlooking the sea; the scenery was charming, the trees magnificent, and filled with nightingales and singing birds; every roadside bank was a bed of ferns; the rainfall was 140 inches in the year, but the society was somewhat sad, and the garrison small." "At Bellary the country is hideous, consisting of bare plains with masses of treeless rock 50 to 500 feet in height cropping up here and there. There are no trees, no gardens, no birds, and less than 17 inches of rain in the year, but in revenge we are perfectly cheerful; and I have cavalry, artillery, and infantry to play at soldiers with.

.I wish you could see my brigade at manœuvres, for they work splendidly. We have battles by day, and battles by night, and route marches and siege operations, and turnings out by night and alarm guns, till the ladies complain that their husbands always sleep with one eye open." "I ran second in a 150 yards handicap, open to all officers, yesterday, being beaten by half a yard by a light-heeled young Major; about ten or a dozen of us started." "The papers say that Russian agents have arrived at Kabul; that place is of little consequence as compared to Kandahar. We look forward to an expedition through the Bolan Pass, if affairs in Egypt do not soon settle. Unless I obtain some appointment in the field, I expect to go to Rangoon to command the Division there; in that case I trust you will keep an exact account of Thebaw's 'wives, his cousins and his aunts,' for when the British Lion is sufficiently roused by one of his massacres, it will probably be my duty to go to Mandalay in the character of the Avenger of Blood!"

He found at Bellary a field battery of artillery, a regiment of Native Cavalry, the Royal Fusiliers, and two regiments of Native Infantry—"an excellent little force. 'We had some capital field days. Mr. Grant Duff (the Governor) visited the station when I was there, and in his report mentioned that the enthusiasm for their work exhibited by the officers at Bellary quite astonished him'; we happened to be carrying on a course of instruction that culminated in the assault of the fort. The remark, though cynical, was a compliment." "At a dinner given to an officer who was retiring from the service, he specially thanked me for the pains I had taken with him, saying that no one had ever tried to teach him before. He came with a reputation for slackness to Bellary, and was at first quite frightened at the unaccustomed tasks I set him, as he had apparently never been trusted before, but he soon took an interest in his work, and found that he was as

good as his neighbours. It was pleasant to find that his feelings were not hurt, and that he was grateful for having been worked." "The arrangements for forage for the cavalry and transport animals had long been unsatisfactory. There were large 'rummahs' or grazing grounds belonging to Government, and the Commissariat Department used to contract for having the hay cut and brought in by the native farmers; but the time for cutting it was not specified, so the agriculturists finished their own operations, and when they had leisure cut and brought to Bellary the forage; but by this time the grass had been spoilt, and, naturally, the horses lost condition, or never were in condition; and there was perpetual warfare between the mounted branches and the Commissariat. Having inspected the rummahs I had them divided into three parts for the artillery, cavalry, and transport respectively, and made the Commanding Officers responsible that the forage was cut in season and good; they could bring it in with their own animals, and as there was twenty times as much fodder as they could use, they might bring in more than was requisite for themselves, and sell the surplus to officers and others, and credit the money to regimental funds. The system answered well, saved Government a large sum of money, and was good for officers, men, and beasts."

There was pleasant society, and a good club at Bellary, and all went well till Prendergast was promoted to the rank of Major-General in the autumn of 1882, when he had to vacate his command.

Sir Frederick Roberts, then Commander-in-Chief at Madras, wanted him to take up the duties of Quartermaster-General at once, so Prendergast joined him at Secunderabad in that capacity. "It was very inconvenient, but, of course, I accepted and joined him here, and we have had gay doings since the 23rd November. I am staying with the Resident, a most hospitable mortal. We have had a few reviews and inspec-

tions of the troops; there has been a fancy ball, given by the Royal Scots Fusiliers; a ball at the Residency; many great dinners, at some of which there are numbers of Oriental nobles covered with gorgeous jewels and wearing splendid swords and daggers. There have been eight days of racing, and the best Arabs in India are on the course. The stand is perhaps the finest in the world, the roof beautifully painted, and every detail perfect. The Nizam was present in a yellow turban, seated in a yellow coach lined with yellow satin, drawn by four splendid grey 'Australians' with yellow postilions. There were bands playing, and regiments under arms as guards of honour, and cavalry escorts for the Nizam, and for the Ministers, for Sir Frederick Roberts, for the Resident, and for many of the nobles. The course is very pretty, and the whole scene passing strange.

"One day there was a panther chase. Four horsemen were selected by lot to ride him with spears. He was let out of the cage, kept straight by lines of elephants, and fell to the spears of Mahomed Ali Beg, one of the finest sportsmen in India. This morning antelopes were coursed by a leopard, but that is cruel sport."

"On Thursday we dined with Sir Salar Jung, a party of more than 300. The palace was beautifully illuminated all over with coloured lamps, and the Italian gardens were similarly adorned. It was a perfect fairyland. Nautch girls sang before dinner; the Nizam's string band played during dinner; and while the display of fireworks was going on after dinner over the water a picturesquely attired Arab marched to and fro playing quaint national airs. The climate at present is perfect, and nothing can be imagined more Oriental and interesting than Hyderabad in the Gala season.

"The curious thing is, the Bara Durru Palace in which Sir Salar Jung entertained us is within the walled city which no British can enter except by permission, and to wander about which without per-

mission would be extremely dangerous, and would probably cost a man his life, for the place swarms with ruffians who would delight in cutting a Christian's throat. A few days ago, Sir Salar Jung gave a picnic to about eighty people on the Meer Allum Tank, which (with the Bara Durru) was constructed by his grandfather with his share of the prize money after the taking of Seringapatam. The tank is a magnificent artificial lake with a retaining dam more than half a mile long, built of stone, in the form of a bridge laid on its side. Breakfast was laid for more than 100, in a fine tent by the waterside. There were steamers to take the guests about the lake, and carriages to take them round it, and bands and jugglers and mummers. My grandfather was looking forward all through his forty years in India to service against Hyderabad, and if Sir Salar Jung lost power, disturbances would be as likely to occur now as they were then. The Nizam is not nearly as fine a man as his Minister; however, you will probably meet him in town next season, so I will not prejudice you against him. I think you will prefer the Maharajah of Mysore, who may be another lion of next season. I began writing at Chudderghat, the Resident's palace close to the city. I am now in subaltern's quarters at Trimulgherry, 10 miles off, though the whole place is called Secunderabad. The 14th Hussars let me live close to their mess, so as to be near Sir Frederick Roberts, who is coming to Bolarum to-morrow; after that we go out into camp for a few days' sham fighting and field manœuvring. Fortunately, Sir Frederick is remarkably fond of his own boy, and when I remarked the other day that I wanted to put Harry and George to school, he determined to let me go, though it is an inconvenience to himself, so I may leave this for Bellary on 16th. I sail from Bombay on 22nd. It is shocking to find oneself too old to command a brigade; however, it will be a joyous day when I arrive in England, for beside the pleasure

of meeting family and old friends, there is much to be done about education." While at Secunderabad Sir Frederick Roberts inspected the troops, and there were several field days. Prendergast busied himself with the question, What is to be done in case of an outbreak in Hyderabad? "The Chief had to report on the subject, and we made a rough scheme to serve until the subject had been fully considered."

"During the field manœuvres I had to report on and criticize the movements of the troops and the tactics of the brigadiers commanding the opposing forces. The only matters of much importance in the office was the unhealthiness of the native lines in Secunderabad and the accommodation for native troops throughout the Presidency.

"Sir Frederick Roberts proposed to make the huts very small, so as to exclude or reduce the size of the families; it was found that the sepoys, on pay that was sufficient to keep themselves in good condition, extended their hospitality to a tribe of relations, and thus became poor and starving.

"The objection to the small hut was that the men might keep their relations in hovels near the lines, and have to pay rent for two houses, and be subjected to insanitary conditions more pernicious than that of the crowded huts in the lines.

"At this time efforts were made to prevent the sepoy from marrying young, and to induce the men to mess in groups so as to admit of the men living well within their income. Every respectable Oriental, however, will marry, and the marriage ceremonies cost a great deal of money.

"A man generally borrows the money from a usurer at a rate of interest of 1 anna per rupee per mensem, say 75 per cent. A sepoy was expected to spend Rs.60 or nearly a year's pay on his nuptials, and was thus plunged heavily into debt early in life. I calculated the difference between saving money and depositing it

(Rs.2 a month) at a high rate of compound interest. before marriage, and that of borrowing it at high interest at the time of marriage. Some company officers took up the matter, but after a time one of them came and reported that the men had adopted the plan to please me, or to please him, but he found that they borrowed the Rs.2 to deposit, so that did not answer ! ”

Prendergast entered the Quartermaster-General's Office to please Sir Frederick Roberts, but, anxious to visit England, and suffering from ill health, he was very glad to be released from duty early in 1883, so as to have a few months in England before taking command of the British Burma Division.

CHAPTER IX

GENERAL OF DIVISION

On the 3rd April 1883, Prendergast assumed command of the British Burma Division, and Captain C. G. Donald of Royal Fusiliers accompanied him as his aide-de-camp, having earlier served under him at Bellary when he was brigadier there.

“At this time there was an idea that war with Upper Burma was imminent, and in August of that year a Burman Embassy arrived in Paris with the ratification by King Thebaw of the Franco-Burman treaty of 1873; after prolonged negotiations a new Franco-Burman treaty was signed, but I heard nothing of these affairs. Meantime, half transport for the troops at Rangoon, Thayatmyo, and Moulmein was provided, stables were built for the mules, and officers and men were instructed in transport duties. Trade was dull, and the mercantile community was very anxious that war should be proclaimed. British Burma was quite tranquil, racing, cricket, cross-country riding after the beagles, or paper-chases were the amusements in Rangoon; dancing at the gymkhana club, occasionally private theatricals, and entertainments by passing companies of actors and circuses were very popular. Sir Charles Crosthwaite was Chief Commissioner; we visited Thayatmyo and Shoegyin together, and from Thayatmyo rode along the frontier to Mendoon, a beautiful tract through romantic scenery. On approaching Mendoon, Mr. Pilcher, the Deputy Commissioner, wished us to ride on elephants, and vowed we could not ride on ponies and mules

because the ground was so swampy; however, we elected to try, and were so delighted to get on to a long stretch of galloping ground that we raced in, the Chief Commissioner, the General, the aide-de-camp, and assistant quartermaster-general, and a squad of wild looking Burma police yelling and screaming. When arrived at the river we looked up, and were shocked to see the inhabitants of Mendoon ready to receive the Chief Commissioner; in a moment we pulled ourselves together and became dignified! Beyond the river were arches of welcome and flags; the chiefs sat in terraces on the right of the steps up the steep bank, and their wives on the left. It was a very pretty display, on a beautiful spot which is about 40 miles west from Thayatmyo, and was notorious for the robberies and raids that took place near it on both sides of the frontiers.

"While at Thayatmyo I was invited to visit Minhla, in Upper Burma, by Mr. Pilcher, who went in the Chief Commissioner's yacht the *Irrawaddy*, to exchange prisoners with the Burman Governor-General of the Lower Provinces. A merry party was formed, consisting of several ladies, the police officer, the officers on my Staff, several regimental officers, and the band of the Bedfordshire was on board. The 'Woon' visited the Deputy Commissioner on the *Irrawaddy* and invited us to a 'Pwe' or dance at his palace.

"Thither we went, and were introduced to many of the ladies of the Woon's family.

"To show that we knew something of music and dancing, one of the soldiers danced a break-down, and the band played 'God save the Queen.'

"We had a good view of the redoubt of Minhla, and on the morrow the Woon took us to the frontier fort of Gwe-gyoun-Kamyo. Camotto, late of the Italian navy, now termed the Ye-gyaun-bo (Water Great Commander), was in command of the fort. We inspected it thoroughly, and noted the different means of approach to it so carefully that I was able to submit



MAJOR-GENERAL HARRY PRENDERGAST, V.C., C.B., AND HIS STAFF IN RANGOON.

From left to right.—Capt. McMahon, Capt. Macintosh, Col. Yule, Col. Chaplin, Col. Berkeley, Capt. Donald, Major-General Harry Prendergast, v.c., c.b.,; Col. Rowlandson.

to headquarters an accurate plan of the fort and position, and a project for attacking it, on my return to Rangoon. These were very useful during the Burman Expedition of 1885.

"From Tonghoo I rode to Thandoung with the Chief Commissioner, a delightful expedition; we were mounted on mules, and, considering the number of falls we had, it was a wonder no one was hurt. It is in accordance with mule nature to rush into brooks as he descends, the saddle slips over his withers and gradually turns under the creature, depositing the rider in the water or on the farther bank. I also rode to the frontier north of Tonghoo, and along the frontier from Thayatmyo towards Tonghoo. The result of these travels was that when war broke out I knew more of the country than any of my officers."

An excellent account of his travels at this time is given in a letter to a friend which it would be as well to enter here as showing his keen interest in military affairs and his thoughts regarding Burma. It was written shortly before proceeding from Rangoon to Bangalore for the camp of exercise.

"I have lost sight of my wife and daughter, but I fancy that they will sail this week or next for India, and that they may be in time to see the camp of exercise at Bangalore, where we are to be employed for a month. It will be a pretty sight, and I hope to learn something of my business there. The three commanders-in-chief and many distinguished officers are to be there. I am to command the 2nd Division; Lieut.-General Payn, the 1st Division; he is a first-rate officer; the force will be considerable; the weather will be pleasant, the country open and suitable for manœuvres, and after the programme of duty is over, there will be races, steeplechases, and polo tournaments, and assault-at-arms, and a fancy ball, so I hope that the girls will be up at Bangalore.

"I wish you would ask your husband to keep an eye

on the Burman Embassy, and to find out exactly what they are about, and the terms of their treaty with France. The present Government is not taking sufficient heed of them, and I fear that if they be neglected there will be trouble for England sooner or later. I am very anxious to hear more about their ambassadors and their doings.

“Thebaw is at present engaged in a war against the Shan States which hitherto has not been successful. But I will not weary you with Burman politics. I have been a wanderer since I last wrote to you, and am more than ever enchanted with this beautiful country. A fine large steamer having been placed at my disposal, I went to inspect Thayatmyo, taking with me the assistant quartermaster-general, Captain Yule, and my aide-de-camp, Captain Donald : the former is a Canadian with a good store of American stories, and a taste for sketching ; and the latter is celebrated as a pianist, can sing a good song, return thanks when the health of ladies or bridesmaids is proposed, and a favourite in all nurseries ; both of them can ride, and both are pulling in the military boat in the Rangoon regatta this morning (8th December 1883).

“The scenery on the Irrawaddy between Prome and Thayatmyo is very beautiful. Thayatmyo is our frontier station ; there is a strong redoubt on the river, with plenty of guns, etc.

“The two batteries of Royal Artillery and two regiments of infantry had no want of exercise while I was there ; we had solemn reviews, and sham fights in the mountains, and an attack on the fort, and a severe inspection of men, beasts, and buildings. I lodged in the mess house of the Royal Artillery. One rainy evening we were all bidden to a dinner given to the Chief Commissioner next door, at the mess of the Bedfordshire Regiment ; while busy with the joints the colonel came and told me that the artillery mess house was on fire ; the band, which had been playing a waltz, ceased, and the fire alarm was heard on all sides. The military men

. left the table at once, and ran as hard as they could to the spot; the fire-engines came very soon; the first arrivals cleared everything they could out of the house. Nearly all my effects were taken out, but in twenty minutes the house was down, and for some time before that the anxiety had been to save the stables and nearest houses. Fortunately none of them were destroyed. The gunners vow that some of the Madeira in the cellar is much improved by the warmth(!), but their losses were considerable. It was a fine sight to see the house in a blaze, with all the troops in the glaring light or smoky shade. We were soon back at the festive scene. My effects were taken into an empty barrack near, and we danced till two in the morning, though a parade was ordered at 4 a.m.

“While at Thayatmyo I had the opportunity to go into Upper Burma, which I never anticipated. I send you a copy of my confidential letter to the secretary to the Commander-in-Chief describing our visit, which I must ask you kindly to return, and show to no one. Gwe-gyoun-Kamyo is the strongest work between the frontier and Mandalay, and one that I particularly wished to see; many of the things that I noticed as being wanted for our force have been supplied since. Gwe-gyoun-Kamyo, you know, is just above Melloon, where, you remember, there was a great victory gained over the Burmese in 1826. You would have been amused to see us marching up to the Woon’s palace; I was incognito and not good enough to be allowed an umbrella (!) A governor-general has two tall gold umbrellas; the Italian officer who commands the fort has only lately been allowed the dignity of one rather dingy brown umbrella. It was pleasant to hear the British National Anthem played by a British regimental band; and the highest pitch of absurdity was reached when the Burman authorities took me all over their fort, and did not mind my reconnoitring the approaches to it. The fact of my having been to Minhla is never

mentioned. Besides the water trip we made delightful excursions along the frontier to inspect fortified forts and military roads, sometimes returning 50 to 80 miles down stream by boat, generally riding ponies through magnificent forests, with grand views occasionally of the Arracan Hills ; and always a party of four, eight or more, we used to sleep generally in engineers' houses, sometimes in police officers' huts, sometimes in police guard-rooms. Every village near the frontier is defended by a stockade ; the people of the country are always cheerful and kind, the best house is placed at the disposal of an English official whenever he goes to a village, and this is done in the most good-natured way ; the floors swept and pretty cloths hung on the walls to ornament the interior. It is amusing to ride into any village, for you see all that is going on ; all the houses are raised on piles, and the front of the house being hinged at the top is supported by poles in front like the awnings before shops in the King's Road at Brighton, so you see the family at breakfast, the girls weaving, the baby in its swing cot, just as in a doll's house. Since the trip to Thayatmyo I have been to Tonghoo, 100 miles east of Thayatmyo ; to get there we travelled five days in a small launch from Rangoon, which only blew up once !

“ Every one told me before I started and when I arrived, that I could not go 6 miles out of the cantonment on account of floods ; however, I wrote to say that I was going, and there is something gratifying in accomplishing apparent impossibilities, for the weather favoured us, and I saw almost everything that was worth seeing. There are not, as at Thayatmyo, a coal mine and oil wells, but there were sites for a sanatorium ; and we had a charming ride to Thandoung one morning. It is about 4000 feet above the sea, well wooded and very pretty ; the road was bad, but Her Majesty's mules carried us and our baggage through mud and water with few accidents ; but the mules rush into deep mud holes in a way that breaks girths and cruppers, and

sends the saddle forward on to the neck or otherwise discomposes the rider. For a party of twelve we took more than a hundred mules and a dozen elephants. We generally used to post mules at 6 and 8 mile stages, and ride as hard as we could from end to end of the journey ; many of the animals were quite unaccustomed to being ridden ; then, as they are used to going three together, some insist on leading ; others, and they were very numerous, would not lead, preferring to buck, jib, and kick, so there was new excitement every half-hour or so. During the eighteen hours we stayed there we determined the limits of the military cantonment and civil settlement ; arranged that huts should be exchanged for good barracks, and for several roads and improvements to be made. If I was likely to remain in Burma, I should feel inclined to build a house there. I never saw such profusion of blossom, and such beautiful wild flowers as at Thandoung. A hundred men of the Bedfordshire will go up in February for three months' work and change of air. Cinchona, tea, and coffee do well on the hill, and below in the plains there are glorious forest trees of gigantic height. There will be a railway to Tonghoo next year, so the journey to Thandoung (which we usually call Sandown) will be made easy. At this season of the year there is not sufficient water in the river to permit launches drawing only 3 or 4 feet of water, to go up ; and our passage down a month ago was not without exciting incidents from injured propellers, running aground, difficulties at the locks which connect the Pegu River with the Sittang, and so on."

At the camp of exercise at Bangalore, Prendergast commanded 2nd Division ; Moreton and Gatacre were assistant adjutant-general and assistant quartermaster-general ; Ellis and Dixon commanded brigades. Sir C. Gough commanded the Cavalry Camp ; Sir Charles Keyes the 1st Division ; Sir Frederick Roberts and the headquarters of the Madras Army were present ; as also Sir Donald Stewart, Commander-in-Chief in India, Sir

Arthur Hardinge, Commander-in-Chief, Bombay, who were present as guests, and Sir M. Grant Duff was at the flag-staff during the last march past.

“My division was kept hard at work, and got into capital training; the great event was the march of the 2nd Division from Nundidroog upon Bangalore, which was defended by Keyes. The first day our cavalry met at Jala; on the 2nd day my headquarters were near Yellahunka, and the advance guard held the wood on the Yellahunka-Bangalore road, a mile north of Hebbal, having come into personal contact with some of the enemy, who attempted to hold the southern fence of the wood. On the 3rd day Ellis’ brigade and the artillery (with the exception of one battery that was posted for a time on the hills north-west of Hebbal) made a detour so as to be hidden by hills, with orders to be at Subadar’s Chuttrum at one o’clock. One native infantry regiment crossed the valley above Hebbal tank, but the Oxfordshire Light Infantry and another native infantry regiment advanced on the shady side of the Hebbal tank—then took ground to the right, and at the appointed hour the whole division was on the Subadar’s Chuttrum-Bangalore road, and on the left flank of the 1st Division, which was concentrated near the Swamyhouse on the Bangalore-Nundidroog road at its crossing with the St. John’s Hill-Subadar Chuttrum roads. I had a more active Staff, my regiments were in better condition than those of my opponent, and I knew the country better than he, so the 2nd Division had many advantages. As the 1st Division was more stationary, the mess contractors favoured it, and the Staff of that division was much better fed than my Staff, which was dependent on the exertions of Colonel Gatacre for messing, who came forward brilliantly as a general provider.

“It was fortunate for me that I met with no disasters when so many influential critics were at hand.”

He was offered the command of the Hyderabad Sub-

sidiary Force, but returned to Burma with the desire of being present in case war should be declared ; however, when there seemed no chance of a campaign, he was very glad to be transferred to Secunderabad, and he took up his command there on 4th August 1884.

Immediately after his arrival at Secunderabad the Commander-in-Chief was present at a camp of exercise that had quickly been arranged for him ; Sir C. Gough and Colonel Coningham commanded the adverse brigades, and all went off well.

“ On another occasion when Sir Frederick Roberts came down he asked for something new. It was at the time of the war in the Soudan, and we had heard much about marching in squares, so I ordered out a brigade of three or four battalions of infantry, and a battery of artillery ; by some mistake on the part of the Staff, the artillery were omitted in the orders ; however, the battery, with elephant draft, happened to be out for exercise, and was pressed into the service, cavalry to represent savages hovering near. We first formed a battalion for each face of the square, with the guns marching on the flanks opposite to the centres of these battalions. The square was ordered to advance. At the first ditch there was trouble about the elephants and guns, but when the square had been marched to a favourable position, the top of a rising ground, the guns were suitably placed, and the elephants and limbers were within the square ; the cavalry, representing savages, advanced at a trot from all sides, and the troops in the brigade square fired away as hard as they could. When the cease firing sounded, it was a comfort to find that no damage had been done ; but the elephants were dreadfully frightened, and the experiment was a dangerous one. It was a marvel that they did not dash out in their terror, killing the men by trampling on and dragging wheels over them. That is evidently not the right way to work. Next we tried marching with the elephants in battery, at a distance from the infantry ;

in case the guns were attacked the infantry to assist them, and if the infantry were attacked the guns to play on the attackers; as a matter of fact, when the infantry were attacked, the Staff Officer of Artillery had placed the guns so near the infantry that the elephants were frightened by the musketry and bolted. There were casualties among the vehicles, because they ran over rocks, and one man had his arm broken. If the artillery had been placed at a greater distance from the infantry there would have been no casualties, and the guns might have engaged the enemy successfully.

“As it was possible that regiments in the division might be required for service in Africa, I practised movements in squares on many occasions with regimental squares, as well as brigade squares, so that all ranks might appreciate the difficulties of fighting and manœuvring in that formation, and might see for themselves the necessity of providing reinforcements within a square to fill up vacancies due to straggling, shot, etc., and might learn how best to march.”

The following notes left by Prendergast relating to his command at Secunderabad will be of interest, as showing how active minded he always was, and how keen he was in all matters connected with his work:—

“Nothing at Hyderabad astonished me more than the lavish hospitality of the leading noblemen, the dinners given by the Nizam, Sir Salar Jung, and Shamshool Oomra were very grand. There was something weird about driving through the city at night to entertainments, a city in which no one would be responsible for your life if you entered it in broad daylight without permission. Every care was taken of invited guests, and the banquets were superb; then the gardens and buildings lent themselves to illuminations which were set up with the greatest taste, only little coloured oil lights but arranged with exquisite taste. If the Minister asked a party of sixty to lunch one day, another noble would issue invitations to eighty guests a week

later. Among the visitors to Hyderabad when I was there were the Princes Oscar and Karl of Sweden, the Duke and Duchess of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, and Lord Randolph Churchill.

“Schemes for the defence of the residency at Hyderabad were elaborated, and standing orders were issued for relieving the residency in case of insurrection; and I also had a secret project which was made known only to the assistant quartermaster-general, but the troops were so trained that they would have availed themselves of it in case of necessity. As regards forage, difficulties, as at Bellary, had been experienced, but I arranged for the forage of the heavy battery one season so as to save a large sum of money, by adopting the system of the Hyderabad contingent in taking up ‘rummahs.’

“I also had the ranges of all principal buildings and prominent objects marked up in the batteries of the place of defence at Trimulgherry, and exercised the artillery in taking their guns up all the neighbouring heights. We escalated forts, passed through woods, and learnt many things that would be useful on service.

“There was one set of native infantry lines that puzzled the authorities for years, the men always suffered from fever, and the hospital was proverbially unhealthy; every man who came out of it, they told me, was buried, or sent on sick leave. The site seemed good; it was high, and there was a good fall towards the Hussain Sagar Tank; the drains were not well laid, and there were slight alterations required in the arrangements, but the lines had been condemned, and no ground could be found except at a great distance from the guards to be taken by the regiment. I proposed to alter the drains, etc., and to give the lines another chance. Pials over the open drains on which men were wont to sleep were removed; a regiment that had come from Burma saturated with fever was put in the lines, and their health improved. An order

was given that the windows of the hospital that looked on to the tank were never to be opened, and the hospital after that killed no victims ; the cause of the sickness was the malaria from the tank, or rather from the swamp close to it. The regiment soon became remarkably healthy and efficient. My own house at Secunderabad had been condemned by the local medical officer, and by the medical authorities in London, and I heard of bad smells in one part of it, but the first time that an offensive odour was perceived I dug it out, and found an underground drain, which I turned into an open drain, and by opening the drains the house became perfectly sweet and healthy.

“In 1884 there was a Russian scare, and orders were received to buy ponies and bullocks ; for the former about to take the field, blankets and rope were also bought, everything was done hurriedly, very high prices were given ; the Commissariat was prejudiced against certain articles, and bought worse at a high price ; ordinary committees of officers passed animals and stores, instead of experts, and the result was extravagant prices for inferior goods.

“There is a want of continuity in commands in India. When I took up one command in India, I found that a staff officer, who had recently been in office, possessed a memory so retentive that he did not require to refer to books constantly ; the books of his office were not written up, and his successors had the greatest difficulty in running the office.

“After inspecting a detachment at Malliappoorum, I wrote a memorandum showing how the Moplah fanatics should be arrested and attacked ; it was written because I found that the subject had not been considered, and the object of the detachment was to fight fanatics—yet my memorandum was lost, so my efforts to save money and obtain excellence of forage at Bellary and Secunderabad were rendered futile by dropping out of sight after I left. A short year book

with lock and key should be handed from General to General, in which should be noted changes made, experiments tried, and the results."

In December 1884, Captain Donald, aide-de-camp to General Prendergast, married, and as the General did not desire a married aide-de-camp, Donald vacated the post and was succeeded by Captain Aldworth of the Bedfordshire Regiment, so it seems desirable to enter at this point his opinion of his chief. He is now Major-General Donald, C.B., and holds a command at Exeter. "I certainly think that he was a splendid soldier. He was in every way a *thorough* soldier, and he had a magnetic personality that endeared him to all who served under him, and made work for him a pleasure. His keenness was extraordinary, as was the thoroughness with which he went into all he undertook. As a man I look upon him as one of the straightest, most upright men who ever lived. He couldn't have done a mean or petty thing to save his life. He was a gentleman in every sense of the word. A delightful companion, with a keen sense of humour. He had a wonderful memory, and loved talking over old times. I used to love meeting him and talking over the many amusing and interesting adventures we had together in Burmah. He remembered every detail of his soldiering days when he was young; but when he talked of them, he was always modest about the part he had played himself in those adventurous times. His life is worthy of being preserved. I was never able to understand why his soldiering days were allowed to finish after the Burmah campaign, and I always think it must have been a bitter disappointment to him; but well as I knew him, I never heard him complain. Of course he ought to have been a Field-Marshal, few soldiers have deserved the honour more than Sir Harry Prendergast."

General Donald is an officer of considerable experience, having served in the Afghan War of 1878-79, and also in the South African War, 1899-1900.

CHAPTER X

COMMAND OF BURMAN EXPEDITION

THE first intimation that General Prendergast would be appointed to the command of the Burman Expeditionary Force was conveyed in an autograph letter to him from the Viceroy (the Earl of Dufferin), dated Ulwar, 3rd November 1885; the brigades selected for service were at once assembled at Calcutta and Madras and embarked without loss of time. General Prendergast embarked with the 67th Hampshire Regiment on H.M.I.M.S. *Clive* (happy omen) on 5th November, and the whole force was shipped from Calcutta with admirable promptitude.

“The Viceroy had asked me if the force at my disposal was all that I desired. I should have preferred a much stronger force, but considering the difficulties of transport and the possibility that I might be informed if I could not undertake the campaign without what was considered sufficient, an officer would be selected who would undertake the campaign with the troops that were assembled; however, I ventured to state that I required special officers to undertake the special duties of a force invading a country, and I pointed out that without them it would be extremely difficult to subjugate the country and capture the king, whose capital was defended by fortifications 7 miles in length and 4 miles in breadth.”

On my arrival in Madras I paid my respects to the Commander-in-Chief and begged for special officers.

“He asked me whom I wanted and why? I mentioned Major Yule, saying that he had been on my Staff in three or four commands, and knew exactly the matters that I considered important; he was active, had passed the Staff college, had served in Burma, and had had experience in field service. I was informed that the same officers went on every campaign, and he would not let Major Yule go. I afterwards suggested the name of Lieut.-Colonel X., who had travelled in Upper Burmah, had worked on my Staff, had passed the Staff college, and was a man of surpassing energy and activity. ‘I suppose he has been on service too?’ broke in the chief. ‘No!’ I replied, ‘he has the advantage of never having seen a shot fired in earnest.’ ‘Ah! but he commands a British regiment, he cannot be allowed to go.’ Suffice it to say that the brigades were not stronger by a single officer than if they had been going to a camp of exercise. The whole of the Staff was selected without reference to me; when asked if I was satisfied with the selection after they had been actually appointed, I stated that one officer was inefficient, and asked that he might be replaced by a better. During my interview with them, both the Governor and the Commander-in-Chief said that they thought there was only one weak spot, that a certain officer was not physically fit. I wrote at once to the Adjutant-General, and requested that an efficient Colonel might be appointed to the 115th Regiment vice — who was said to be physically unfit. A Medical Board was appointed, and it reported him sound. The very first day that he was called upon to exert himself he was nearly killed by the work and was invalided to Europe.”

The *Clive* met excellent weather, arrived at Rangoon on 7th November, and Prendergast had a few days to inspect the troops, steamers, etc.

He was received by Mr. C. Bernard, the Chief Commissioner; General Buck, commanding the Division at Rangoon; and Captain Donald, his former aide-de-

camp. His present aide-de-camp was Captain Aldworth of the Bedfordshire Regiment.

His Staff was as follows :—

Colonel Bengough, Chief of the Staff.

Colonel Carey, Commanding R.A.

Colonel Sandford, R.E.

Major M'Neil, D.A.Q.M.G.

Major Symons, D.A.A. and Q.M.G.

Captain Aldworth, A.D.C.

Deputy Surgeon-General M'Neal Donnelly,
P.M.O.

Lieut.-Colonel Laughton, Commanding General.

Major R. Hill, Director of Transport.

Lieut.-Colonel E. Begbie, Superintendent of
Signalling.

At the accession of King Thebaw to the throne of Burma in 1878, the relations between the Government of India and that of Mandalay were unsatisfactory. Life and property within Burmese Territory were insecure; applications for redress of wrongs to British subjects were disregarded, treaties were not respected, and British commercial interests in the Irrawaddy valley were seriously injured. As time went on King Thebaw's dislike to the British Alliance increased; atrocious massacres of men, women, and children were committed by his Government, notwithstanding the strong remonstrances of the British Resident, who was debarred from personal access to the King. Such was the insolence of the Burman Ministers that the British Resident was withdrawn from Mandalay (in October 1879). In November 1879 an unprovoked attack was made by the Burmese on the Captain and crew of a British steamer while she was lying at anchor in the waters of the Upper Irrawaddy; later on, a British mail steamer was seized and detained. For these outrages no redress could be obtained; fresh atrocities took place at Mandalay, bands of armed dacoits roamed

Gods Majesty The King of Burmah

My Friend

It is with the utmost gratification that I have received the news of your Majesty's friendly overture to me by your Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary Messrs Smith & Legation Officers.

I cordially reciprocate the sentiments which they express.

It is as your Majesty truly observes, always consistent to the maintenance of peace between empires, that the ministers and subjects of one sovereign should visit the territories of another, and that thus by the extension of mutual knowledge, the bonds of friendship may be strengthened, alike between rulers and between nations. It has afforded me great pleasure to receive your Majesty's envoys: and I have observed with much satisfaction the cordiality with which they have been welcomed by my people in all parts of my dominions which they have visited.

I forward this letter by the hands of a trusted officer, who will deliver it to your Majesty, together with a portrait of myself, as tokens of my friendship and esteem.

With assurances of the interest which I feel in all that relates to your Majesty's happiness and prosperity.

I am your Majesty's sincere friend and well-wisher.

By Appointment
to Her Majesty

at will; raids were made into British territory, and Upper Burma became completely disorganized.

The Court of Ava developed its policy of menace and hostility to the Government of India by the dispatch of a mission to Europe, seeking alliance with the foreign Powers for the purpose of attaining political and commercial arrangements which could not but conflict very seriously with British interests, and lead to intrigues by foreign agents at Mandalay, the initiation of which could not be tolerated by England. So long as the Kingdom of Ava occupied an isolated position the British Government could afford to submit to much provocation, but when the external policy of the Burmese Court indicated designs which, if prosecuted with impunity, could only result in the establishment of preponderating foreign influence in the Upper Valley of the Irrawaddy, it became impossible for Her Majesty's Government any longer to view the situation without considerable anxiety. A contract for a Royal Bank was signed at Paris and Rome in March and April 1885, and a treaty with France granting a monopoly of railroads was signed in Paris in January 1885 and ratified in November 1885. Thebaw attempted to impose a ruinous fine on the British Burmah Trading Corporation; the Government of India in vain proposed that the matter in dispute should be heard before an arbitrator appointed by the Viceroy of India. This plan having been rejected on 22nd October 1885, an ultimatum was addressed to His Majesty, demanding the acceptance of certain definite proposals for the settlement of existing disputes and the establishment of satisfactory relations with Ava, which was accompanied with a warning that these proposals must immediately be accepted.

The proposals were that—

- (1) An envoy from the Government of India should be received at Mandalay with free access to

the King, upon the same terms as are issued at other Courts.

- (2) Proceedings against the Bombay Burmah Trading Corporation should be meanwhile suspended.
- (3) An English agent should be permanently stationed at Mandalay with a proper guard for his personal protection.

The King's Government was at the same time informed that hereafter it would be required to shape its external relations in accordance with the advice of the British Government, and to give proper facilities for trade with China and elsewhere.

On the 21st October 1885 the Governor-General directed that a force should be organized for service in Burmah. On the 9th November 1885 a reply to the ultimatum of the Government of India, amounting to an unconditional refusal of the terms, was received in Rangoon, and on the 7th November the following patriotic proclamation was issued at Mandalay—

“ROYAL ORDER,

“*Dated 7th November 1885.*

“His Most Great and Glorious Majesty (titles) orders as follows :

“The religion of Our most excellent Lord Jina—who received this name from his having been victorious over the five Maras—does auspiciously and truly shine and flourish in Sunaparanta and Tambadipa, the centres of the great Burmese Empire, to a degree far greater than in all the countries, China, Japan, Laos, Siam, etc.

“We, your most excellent King, the establisher of religion and of Kingdoms and States, do most carefully observe all the duties incumbent on Kings, and most faithfully endeavour to preserve undefiled the religion, to maintain the peace and happiness of Our Empire, and to promote the advancement of the Country.

“The English heretics, attempting to bring about the decay of Our religion and the degradation of Our country, have violated the Treaty of Amity entered into with Our Royal Father, have made improper demands, and have unlawfully made demonstrations of war, in consequence of all of which, the business of foreign and Native Merchants and traders, and Our subjects generally have been injured and brought to a standstill. To protect the religion, to protect the people’s prosperity, to protect the Kingdom—these are the duties of Kings. Should the heretic English Kalas therefore come to molest Our Kingdom in the least, we shall march forth in person with Our Generals, Captains and Lieutenants, with an array of Infantry, Artillery, Elephanter, and Cavalry—the four component parts of Our Army with Our Land and Water forces, and will seize the three divisions of the Talaing Kingdom, Ramañña with Arakan, Tavoy and the other provinces. Let arrangements be ordered, and an auspicious day selected accordingly for Us to march forth with Our auspicious and victorious Army. Before We personally start let the auspicious advance guard of Our Royal Army march forth in three columns, namely :—

- “The ‘North Tavoy’ Regiment, and the ‘South Tavoy’ Regiment, the ‘North 150’ Regiment, the ‘Braves’ Regiment, the ‘40 Daing Companies’ Regiment, the ‘Yuns’ Regiment, the ‘War Boat Companies’ Regiment with Artillery, the ‘Chinese’ Regiment Body Guards and volunteers consisting of over 10,000 strong, with the Hle Thin Atwin Wun (titles) as Generalissimo, and the Letwé and Letya Win Hmus (titles) as Generals, to form the Irrawaddy column.
- “The ‘Kinda Kala-byo’ Regiment, the ‘Royal

Glory Achievers' Regiment, the Ekkabat (Cachári) Horse Regiment, the 'Auspicious Braves' Horse Regiment, the Elephanteers Regiment, and Artillery Body Guard and Volunteers consisting of over 5000 strong with the Thaundaw Wun (titles) as Generalissimo, and Myo Wun the Ekkabat Myin Wun (titles) as General to form the Taungdwingyi column.

"The 'Shoepyi Magin' Regiment, the 'Natan Letwe' Regiment, the Natansuletya Regiment, the Yweletwe Regiment, the 'Yêbet' Horse Regiment, the Shwepyi Yan-Aung Horse Regiment, the Myin Sugvi Shan Horse Regiment, the Burma Horse Regiment, the Nau Mingala Horse Regiment and Artillery, Body Guards and Volunteers consisting of over 10,000 strong, with the Mynthit Atwin Wun (titles) as Generalissimo, and the Shwe Win Hmu and the Shwe Hlan Bo (titles) as Generals, to form the Tougoo column.

"Let these three columns advance, and garrison the victorious stations on the frontiers of the Empire."

While King Thebaw believed in his own might, in the prowess of his army, and the inviolability of his country, the English public unhesitatingly accepted the theory that the Burman people were longing to be rid of the bloodthirsty tyrant who ruled over them, and to accept the privileges of English subjects; or at least that they would offer no resistance to any British force that might be sent up the Irrawaddy, and that an expedition to Mandalay would be merely a military picnic. The mercantile community, the Press, and the army were all interested in favour of hostilities, and with light hearts recommended the annexation of



MARQUIS OF DUFFERIN AND AVA,
Viceroy of India.

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Upper Burma. No heed was given to the difficulties attending operations against the capital of a country devoid of roads, to which the only access was by the waters of a swift and dangerous river, the distance of Rangoon from Mandalay being 600 miles, and the distance of the British frontier station of Thayatmyo from Mandalay being 200 miles.

The British Burma Division, commanded by Major-General Buck, was on a peace footing; all, or nearly all, the mules of the Transport Department had lately been sent to India for employment on the north-west frontier, and the number of elephants maintained was less than the complement authorized for the Department.

The road from Tonghoo through Thayatmyo to Mendoon along the British northern frontier was not completed, while, as regards river transport, the only Government vessels available were the Chief Commissioner's yacht, the *Irrawaddy*, and a few launches that were in constant use by officers of the Revenue, Public Works, and Police Departments.

On 30th October 1885 the Burma Expeditionary Force, constituted as follows, was placed under General Prendergast's command—

A Naval Brigade from H.M. ships on the station.
One Field Battery (officers, non-commissioned, and gunners only).

Two Garrison Batteries.

One Mountain Battery, British, with mules.

Two Mountain Batteries, native, with coolie equipment.

Three Battalions British Infantry.

Seven Regiments of Native Infantry (including one of Pioneers).

Six Companies of Sappers and Miners.

The detail of the force is given below—

*Naval Brigade under Captain R. Woodward,
R.N.:*

H.M. I.M.S. *Irrawaddy*, armed with two 20-pr. Armstrong guns B.L. and two 9-pr. M.L., two Nordenfelts, and four Gardner guns.

Steamer *Palow*, one Nordenfelt, with one flat containing four 25-pr. field guns for land service, one 9-pr., one 7-pr., and one barge armed with one 64-pr.

Steamer *Pula*, armed with one Gardner and two Nordenfelts, towing one flat with eight 25-prs.

Steamer *Ngawoon* for river survey, and one barge armed with one 64-pr.

Steam-cutter *Kathleen*, armed with two 9-pr. M.L., and one Gardner gun.

The Nordenfelts were one-inch calibre, throwing 1 lb. steel projectiles, and the Gardners were of Martini-Henry calibre (.450), with solid-drawn cartridge cases.

DIVISIONAL TROOPS

Q-1 Royal Artillery.

9-1 Cinque Ports Division, Royal Artillery.

3-1 Scottish Division, Royal Artillery.

4-1 North Irish Division, Royal Artillery.

No. 4 Punjab Mountain Battery.

No. 1 Bombay Mountain Battery.

B, D and H Companies "Queen's Own" Sappers and Miners (Madras).

Nos. 4 and 5 Companies Bengal Sappers and Miners.

No. 2 Company Bombay Sappers and Miners.

1st Madras Pioneers.

First Infantry Brigade, commanded by Brigadier-General H. H. Foord.

2nd Battalion King's Liverpool Regiment.

21st and 25th Madras Infantry.

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Second Infantry Brigade, commanded by Brigadier-General G. S. White, C.B., V.C.

2nd Battalion Hampshire Regiment.

12th and 23rd Madras Infantry.

Third Infantry Brigade, commanded by Brigadier-General F. B. Norman, C.B.

1st Battalion Royal Welsh Fusiliers.

2nd "Queen's Own" Bengal Infantry.

11th Bengal Infantry.

The strength of the Expeditionary Force was :

British soldiers	3029
Native (of India) soldiers	6005
Total	<u>9034</u>
Followers	2810

The Bengal troops assembled at Calcutta between 30th October and 5th November 1885, and arrived at Rangoon between the 5th and 14th November.

The Madras troops assembled at Madras between the 28th October and 1st November, but could not commence embarkation till 3rd November on account of a violent storm. The Headquarter Staff and 2nd Hampshire arrived at Rangoon on 7th November, and all from Madras had reached Rangoon by 11th November.

On arrival at Rangoon, General Prendergast received orders to the following effect, that "the immediate objects of the expedition are the occupation of Mandalay and the dethronement of King Thebaw; and it is extremely desirable that those objects be attained rather by the display than by the use of force. An unopposed occupation of Mandalay would be more satisfactory and more acceptable to the Government than any number of victorious engagements in the field. From the time that you enter the enemy's

territory, you will be vested with supreme, political, as well as military, authority. Colonel Sladen will be placed under your orders as political officer, and will be accompanied by some junior officers of the Burman Commission."

And General Prendergast was directed when advancing on Mandalay to issue a notification which, setting forth the reasons for the step, and declaring the reign of King Thebaw at an end, should proclaim that the private rights, the religion, and the national customs of the Burmese people would be scrupulously respected.

The Expeditionary Force was organized, the Staff, civil and military, was selected before General Prendergast was appointed to the command, and he was not personally known to any of the brigadier-generals or naval officers, to the officers commanding Royal Artillery and Royal Engineers, or to the principal medical officers. Special service officers were not appointed to the force. The Indian Infantry consisted of Madras troops and Bengal regiments, not Sikhs or Goorkhas. As it was impossible to obtain sufficient river transport, cavalry were not sent, chargers were not allowed to staff or regimental officers, or even to General Prendergast himself; the Royal Artillery, with the exception of one mountain battery, was unprovided with mules or horses, and the coolies were the only means of landing transport for the Commissariat, ammunition, tents, stores, and baggage of the troops. A force of 3000 British and 6000 native soldiers had to invade and hold a country larger than France, which was to be administered by a political officer with four or five assistants.

The fine fleet of the Irrawaddy Flotilla Company was engaged to convey the force up the Irrawaddy.

A river steamer with two flats was allotted to the troops carried by each ocean transport; about 20 superficial feet was allowed to each British, and 10 to 15

superficial feet to each native soldier. The vessels, constructed of thin iron plates, drew from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet of water, and afforded no protection against the shot, shell, or even musketry of an enemy. The troops were not landed at Rangoon, but passed from the sea-going transports to the river steamers and flats. Each regiment, as soon as it was transferred with its tents and stores, and provided with Commissariat stores, was dispatched to Thayatmyo, the British frontier post, under the guns of which it was proposed to assemble the flotilla.

The course of the steamers was southwards to near the mouth of the Rangoon River, and then along the China Bakeer channel to the Irrawaddy, and up that fine river past Henzada and Prome to Thayatmyo. The Irrawaddy is navigable for 840 miles by steamers of very light draught, its average velocity is 5 miles an hour in mid-stream, and its average width between Bhamo (which is 800 miles from the sea) and Prome (which is 300 miles from the sea) is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles. The flood rise at Bhamo is about 50 feet. A steamer towing a flat on each side usually reached Thayatmyo five days after leaving Rangoon. Railway trains run from Prome (44 miles from Thayatmyo) to Rangoon in eight hours and from Rangoon to Tonghoo in fourteen hours. Lines of telegraph exist on these lines, and along the banks of the Irrawaddy.

From the 7th to 12th November General Prendergast was hospitably entertained by the Chief Commissioner (Mr. Charles Bernard) and had the advantage of constant communication with him regarding the military and political situation. These days were profitably spent, for although the utmost exertions had been made by the Chief Commissioner and the Major-General commanding the British Division, Burma, by Captain Woodward, the senior officer, R.N., by the officer commanding the artillery, and by the Commissariat Department, yet a thousand details

required the attention of the General Officer commanding the expedition, especially as the Officer commanding Royal Engineers and the sappers and miners did not arrive till 10th November.

The river steamers, flats, and barges were carefully inspected, and every means was taken to expedite the departure of the force; the framing under the deck of the great battery barge, the *White Swan*, had to be strengthened; landing stages and bamboo ladders had to be made. There being no cavalry with the expedition, a corps of mounted infantry was formed of British soldiers and Rangoon Volunteers, mounted on Burman ponies, and equipped on the spot.

Experiments were made regarding the effect of explosions of gun cotton and gunpowder upon bamboo stockades. Bamboo suspended stretchers were constructed, and surgical paniers were adapted for coolie transport. Burman ponies were bought for the use of the officers.

On the evening of the 12th November, accompanied by a few Staff officers, General Prendergast left Rangoon for Prome by rail, and, embarking the following morning on the *Thabyadine*, arrived in the afternoon of the 13th at Thayatmyo to inspect the redoubt and hospitals, and to obtain information regarding the enemy's movements.

It was ascertained that the Burman outposts on the frontier had been strengthened, that the villagers within British territory were alarmed and deserting their houses; that a king's steamer with two flags had brought down a large body of troops, and landed them a few miles above the frontier, and that it was intended to sink the vessels as an obstruction to traffic on the river. On the evening of the 13th, orders were received from the Calcutta Foreign Office to "advance upon Mandalay when the military preparations are complete."

Detachments of the Thayatmyo Garrison were at

once dispatched to hold the frontier line; the armed steamer *Irrawaddy* and the launch *Kathleen* were ordered to proceed at daylight on the morrow to reconnoitre the river beyond the frontier, and to capture the King's steamer and flats. The Bengal Brigade had left Rangoon in steamers and flats, and was expected to arrive at Thayatmyo on the 14th. On the morning of the 14th all the troops of the Expeditionary Force were on the Rangoon and Irrawaddy rivers between Rangoon and Prome, many of them making way towards the frontier; but no vessel had arrived at Thayatmyo except the *Irrawaddy* and *Kathleen*.

It was most important to prevent the enemy from obstructing the stream at Toung-Gwen, Nyong-ben-maw, and Shing-boung-weh, where the river was known to be shallow, and from barring navigation and massing troops at his frontier station of Minhla Gwe-gyoun-Kamyo.

The I.M.S. *Irrawaddy* under command of Commander W. R. Clutterbuck, R.N., of H.M.S. *Woodlark*, and the launch *Kathleen* under Lieut. F. P. Trench, R.N., of H.M.S. *Turquoise*, found the King's steamer with the attendant barges near Nyong-ben-maw on the right bank of the Irrawaddy, about 28 miles above Thayatmyo. Having accepted and returned the fire of the enemy's shore batteries at close quarters, the *Irrawaddy* cleared the decks of the Burman steamer and flats with her machine guns, and forced the crew to jump overboard. Two Italian officers, Molinari and Cammotto were among the fugitives. The batteries were repassed at very short ranges, and the prizes were towed down the river by the capturing steamers.

The operations were rendered difficult by the rapidity of the current opposite the batteries. Commander Clutterbuck, Lieut. Trench, and the officers and crews of the *Irrawaddy* and the *Kathleen* deserve great credit for their courage, and the Indian marine officers and lascar crew serving on board the former did their duty with perfect coolness under fire.

The little *Kathleen* with her crew of 16 men repeatedly engaged the shore battery of 9 guns at 50 yards range. As the enemy's guns could not be depressed sufficiently to strike her, her loss was only one man severely wounded—Robert Hutchison, gunner's mate of H.M.S. *Turquoise*. The prizes were valuable, not only as an addition to the means of transport for the Expeditionary Force, but also because their loss delayed the retreat of the enemy somewhat, and prevented him from closing the channel near Nyoungben-maw according to the Italian plans which were found on board one of the flats.

Among the letters found on board the King's steamer was one from Signor Cammotto, dated Mandalay, 7th November, stating that "the English have through fear of France imposed conditions unacceptable to Burma, and war is imminent. I have been re-employed on Rs.400. The defence of the frontier has been confided to me and Captain Molinari by the King and his Ministers. To me is entrusted the arduous task of closing the Irrawaddy, the great and only communication of the country; Molinari is charged with the fortresses. If the English approach they will find a hard nut."

Another Italian letter of the same date, says: "Still the armaments continue on a vast scale. Molinari has been sent to Minhla to obstruct the Irrawaddy. I am certain that the English will find it very hard. We shall make many victims before they arrive. The war will be short, but there will be great mortality." Another Italian writes from Mandalay on 9th November: "Arming and sending men to the frontier continues. Cammotto has asked for and obtained re-employment. It was desired to give me the command of the artillery."

In the afternoon the steamer containing the Royal Welsh Fusiliers, 2nd and 11th Bengal Regiments, anchored at Thayatmyo.

On the 5th, in order to give confidence to the in-

habitants of our villages near the frontier, and to re-establish telegraphic communication between the frontier and Thayatmyo, two companies of 2nd Bengal Infantry were posted at Laingha on the frontier, and the vessels containing Cinque Ports Division Royal Artillery, the Welsh Fusiliers, and two regiments of Bengal Infantry, Liverpool Regiment, and 1st Madras Pioneers, and 12th Madras Infantry steamed 15 miles beyond the frontier, escorted by the *Irrawaddy* and the *Kathleen*. On account of the difficulties of navigation, steamers nearly always anchor at night on the Irrawaddy. Abreast of Laingha we met the *Doowoon* with four flats, two lashed at each side of her. The Commander had brought down a few European fugitives from Mandalay, and had been fired on from several posts on the river, but, protected by the flats, his steamer had suffered very little injury. It was satisfactory to learn that the Europeans at Mandalay had not yet been massacred or molested.

On the 16th the steamers weighed anchor at day-break, and at 9.15 a.m. a landing was effected at Zoung-gyan-Doung on the right bank, 2 miles below the batteries which had fired on the *Irrawaddy* and *Kathleen* on the 14th. A series of small steep hills covered with brushwood and trees intervened between the batteries and the landing place, so that the enemy could not see the debarkation.

Colonel W. Rowlandson of the 12th Madras Infantry, commanding a column formed of the Liverpool Regiment, 1st Madras Pioneers, and 12th Madras Infantry, was ordered to attack the rear of the batteries, and to prevent the escape of the enemy. The *Irrawaddy*, lying 3000 yards below the enemy's batteries, fired occasional shells into them, to which the Burmans replied, but with no effect; the turning movement was well executed, and would have been thoroughly successful had not the enemy been warned of their danger by Phoongyees (or priests) who, protected by

their yellow garb, had been allowed to watch the operations of our regiments. The Burmans fled from the batteries panic stricken; their stockade and barracks were burnt to the ground, and 11 field guns with their carriages were destroyed as they could not easily be removed. During these operations the Mule Battery, Cinque Port Royal Artillery, and the Royal Welsh Fusiliers, under command of Brigadier-General Norman, C.B., landed on the left bank, and by a circuitous march reached the east face of the stockade of Shing-boung-weh, where it had been reported that a large force was assembled. The stockade was, however, found deserted, and it was burnt. We suffered no casualties that day except from sunstroke. All the troops re-embarked late in the afternoon, but with some difficulty, owing to the shallowness of the water, and at nightfall the flotilla was much scattered.

The leading steamers anchored for the night, 16th-17th, near TOUNG-GWEN, about 34 miles from THAYATMYO. It was a relief to find that no batteries had been erected there, and no obstacles had been sunk in the fairway. Six miles above TOUNG-GWEN the river narrows between MALOON and PATANAGO on the right and left banks respectively, to a width of 1000 yards, and on rounding the PATANAGO point one enters the long reach commanded by the guns of the frontier fort of GWE-GYOUN-KAMYO.

GWE-GYOUN-KAMYO was a redoubt built of solid masonry by Italian engineers. It had two batteries of guns with a command of about 200 feet bearing on the reach of the river between it and MALOON; another battery faced westwards towards MINH LA on the right bank of the river. There were incomplete defences on the east or land front, and the gorge was closed by a loopholed masonry wall. There were fine casemated barracks in the redoubt and *trous de loup* on the southern glacis.

The necessity for moving forward seemed so urgent

that, at daybreak on the 17th, the flotilla was directed to advance to Maloon and Patanogo; that position was found undefended, but from the deck of the *Thabyadine* workmen could be seen employed on the east defences of Gwe-gyoun-Kamyo, and it was determined to attack at once with the troops that were available, though the artillery and sappers were not present. First Brigade, under Brigadier-General Foord, consisting of Liverpool Regiment, Madras Pioneers, 21st and 25th M.I., to march from Patanogo, 8 miles, in order to attack Gwe-gyoun-Kamyo from the east; the Cinque Ports Royal Artillery with mule equipment, and Hampshire Regiment, under Brigadier-General G. White, V.C., C.B., to follow in support of 1st Brigade on arrival. The 12th M.I. and 2nd B.I. and 11th B.I., all under command of Colonel T. N. Baker, 2nd B.I., to march from Maloon to try to capture the Woondouk or Governor-General in his palace west of Minhla. The *Irrawaddy* and *Kathleen* were directed to engage Gwe-gyoun-Kamyo at long range for two hours after the landing of General Foord's brigade, or till the British flag should be hoisted at the White Pagoda of Gwe-gyoun, half a mile east of the Kamyo. The landing of the troops at Patanogo could not be seen from Gwe-gyoun-Kamyo on account of intervening hills, and the landing of the brigade at Maloon could not, for a similar reason, be observed from Minhla. The 1st Brigade advanced from Patanogo at 10 a.m. and marched for two hours and forty minutes by a narrow path over the hills and through thick jungle to the White Pagoda. Two picquets of the enemy were driven in, but no resistance was offered; the picquets retired northward, not to the fort.

The Liverpool Regiment occupied high ground east of the fort, which commands its works, and the Burmans, being completely surprised by the volleys of musketry from the east when they were prepared for attack from

the south, west, and north-west, but had not a gun bearing eastward, promptly fled by the north-west gate as the British soldiers advanced with a rush.

Of the 1700 men who, under the command of MOUNG-SAN-HLA-BO, garrisoned the fort in the morning, only MOUNG-SIN-HLE-SIN-SYA, the second in command, and a lieutenant—both dangerously wounded—and two wounded soldiers remained in GWE-GYOUN-KAMYO—the rest of the killed and wounded were carried off. Twenty-one guns and a quantity of stores were found in the fort.

General Prendergast accompanied the 1st Brigade, and was able, from the western ramparts of GWE-GYOUN-KAMYO, to watch the operations of the *Irrawaddy* and *Kathleen* against the works on the right bank of the river, and of Colonel Baker's force as it fought its way from the low-lying country from the palace to the redoubt of MINH-LA, which is near the riverside. At 11 a.m. Colonel Baker left Maloon for the King's palace. After an hour's march the skirmishers of the 12th M.I., which was the leading regiment, were suddenly checked by a heavy musketry fire from apparently thick and thorny jungle. While the 2nd B.I. turned the enemy's right flank, the 12th M.I. rallied, and, reinforced by the 11th B.I., gallantly broke through the thorny screen, tore over the entrenchment and breastwork of carts and bamboos which had concealed the Burmans, and dislodged them from the village of Yinna. Thence the brigade moved forward towards the position which contained the palace and Minhla Pagoda; the plinth of the latter was defended by field artillery and musketry. The country was difficult and the enemy's fire was hot, but the brilliant leading of the officers and the dashing onslaught of the sepoy's prevailed against the undisciplined bravery of the Burmans, who broke and fled, leaving six guns as trophies to the victors. The 11th B.I., bore the brunt of the combat.

The brigade then advanced to Minhla redoubt as rapidly as possible, by winding paths between gardens and enclosures, 12th M.I. on the right, the 11th B.I. in the centre, and the 2nd B.I. on the left under the fire of a 7-pr. gun, two wall-pieces, and the musketry of the defenders. Before the redoubt had been completely surrounded by the regiments, which were trying to keep down the fire of the garrison, Lieut.-Colonel R. G. B. Simpson, 12th M.I., getting together a few brave men of the 12th M.I. and 11th B.I., charged up a steep and broken ramp that led from the ground west of the works to the terreplein of the redoubt. Foremost among the stormers was Lieut. H. T. D. Wilkieson, 12th M.I., who was dangerously wounded, having received five sword cuts, and Lieut. W. K. Downes, 11th M.I. A footing having been gained within the redoubt, supports immediately followed, and a hot fire was poured into the Burmans, some of whom found shelter in the casemates, while others escaped by the East Gate, but only to meet the 2nd B.I., to whose fire they were so much exposed that many were killed on land, and the remainder, having taken to the water, were either drowned or shot in the river. Within the redoubt were taken 276 prisoners, 6 guns of cast-iron, 5 brass rifled guns, and 2 wall-pieces. The redoubt was prepared chiefly for attack from the river. Our loss was 1 British officer killed, 4 British officers wounded, 3 men killed, and 23 wounded. The enemy's loss was estimated at about 170 killed, 40 wounded, and 278 prisoners. All the wounded, British and Burman, were on board the floating hospital, and surgically treated that night.

The *Irrawaddy* and the *Kathleen* were first employed in engaging Gwe-gyoun-Kamyo for two hours, and afterwards in attacking the Minhla redoubt, and a masked battery of 4 guns on the right bank half a mile below the redoubt. The service performed, by attracting

the attention of the Burmans, was of great value to the forces attacking by land.

Brigadier-General Norman, C.B., and the Royal Welsh Fusiliers arrived too late to join in the combat, but the General took command before evening of the Minhla Brigade. On the 18th November one company Liverpool Regiment, four companies of Native Infantry, and one company Sappers were detailed to garrison Gwe-gyoun-Kamyo; and one company Liverpool Regiment, two companies of Native Infantry, and two mountain guns to garrison Minhla; and orders were given for the demolition of Gwe-gyoun-Kamyo, and for the construction of earthworks round Minhla redoubt.

The *Irrawaddy*, the *Palow*, the *Ngawoon*, and the *Kathleen* were sent ahead to reconnoitre, as large forces of the enemy were said to be assembling north of Membo. In the afternoon the Italian officers, Molinari and Cammotto, surrendered to Commander Carpenter, R.N., on board the *Ngawoon*.

The following instructions were drawn up for the guidance of officers commanding posts on the Irrawaddy:—

Commandants are responsible for—

I. The defence of the post. This includes fortification, outposts, patrols, securing the gates, sentries, and care of ammunition.

II. The care of, and access to, water.

III. The sanitary condition, including latrines, filth trench, slaughter-houses, and drains.

IV. Reconnaissances. Troops will be taken out for route marches in such strength as may be considered safe. Sketches of the country should be made, and a thorough knowledge of the country gained.

V. The political officer on the Staff of the Commandant will supply him with information regarding the state of the country.

VI. The Union Jack should be hoisted.

VII. Steamers going upstream should be stopped when necessary for the sake of the Commissariat Department.

VIII. Reports on state of affairs should be sent to headquarters, and to the officer commanding the line of communications, by every opportunity. This should be done daily by wire when the telegraph is established.

IX. The line of telegraph should be protected and frequently inspected.

X. The Commandant will encourage Burmans to bring in supplies, and maintain the friendliest relations with them, but will take measures to prevent many of them being within the works of the station at one time.

XI. Any persons found molesting Burmans, or interfering in any way with their property, should be promptly punished.

The subject of disarming the Burmans was discussed, but it was determined not to make the attempt with so small a force as could be spared for the purpose. The Burman prisoners worked very well at the construction of earthworks round Minhla.

A considerable portion of the force arrived from Rangoon during the 18th and 19th; the troops were in good health and spirits; the scenery of the river from Prome to Membo, 20 miles above Minhla, is beautiful; few lovelier spots can be found than the villages Caina and Maloon with their stately pagodas and picturesque monasteries standing out against the sky or nestling in the densely wooded valleys, whence tributary streams flow into the Irrawaddy. Rain commenced on the 18th, and continued for five days and nights, quite an unusual occurrence at this time of year, which was accepted by the Burmans as a special interposition of Providence in favour of the English, as it not only increased the width and depth of the channels through which the flotilla had to pass, but also gave promise of abundant crops. On the 19th November headquarters

were transferred from the *Thambyadine* to the more commodious *Doowoon*; the Naval Brigade, by long-range fire, drove the Burmans from a battery which they had established near Membo, and the force advanced to that place.

The next day we advanced to Yay-nang-gyaung, 78 miles from Thayatmyo; at this place there are petroleum springs, the oil is raised to the surface in buckets from 200 wells.

On 21st we were at Selaymyo, 115 miles from Thayatmyo.

The order of advance of the flotilla was generally as follows:—

The *Irrawaddy* with the launch *Kathleen* took up station some miles ahead to reconnoitre; the *Ngawoon*, commanded by Commander A. Carpenter, R.N., followed to survey and buoy the deep-water channel; then came the headquarters steamer *Doowoon*; and, following her in succession, in single column line ahead at two cables' distance, *Palow*, Captain Woodward, R.N., two 64-pr. R.M.L. guns, four 25-pr. R.M.L. field guns, one Nordenfelt and one Gardner.

{ Yunan Q-1 R.A.	2-40 pr. M.L.R. guns.
{ White Swan barge, one-third, 3-1 R.A.	6-6.3 in. R. Howitzers.
{ Heavy Battery barge, one-third 4-1 R.A.	12-5.5 in. Royal Mortars.
{ Ananda, two-thirds, 4-1 R.A.	2-40 pr. M.L.R. guns.
{ Two barges	2-6.3 in. R. Howitzers.
{ Atavan, two-thirds, 3-1 R.A.	
{ Two barges	4-6.3 in. R. Howitzers.
{ Panthay, 9-1 R.A.	6 Mountain guns.
{ Two flats, 12 horses, 40 mules.	
{ Shoaymyo, Six companies Sappers and Miners.	
{ Two flats, Bombay Mountain Battery, 6 Mountain guns.	
{ Burma and 2 flats headquarters 2nd Brigade and Hampshire Regiment.	
{ Shintasawbo, 1st Madras Pioneers.	
{ Flats, 12th M. Infantry.	
{ Ashley Eden, 23rd M. Infantry.	
{ Flats, Hazara Mountain Battery.	
{ Lighter, Telegraph Stores.	
{ Yankeetown, Liverpool Regiment.	
{ Flats, Telegraph Department and Stores.	
{ Irrawaddy, Flotilla Company, 21st M. Infantry	
{ Flats, headquarters 1st Brigade 25th M. Infantry.	
Along-Pyah and flats, headquarters 3rd Brigade and Royal Welsh Fusiliers.	

{ *Thoorah*, 2nd B. Infantry.

{ Flats, 11th B. Infantry.

Talifoo and Flats, M. Infantry.

Rangoon and Flats, Floating Hospital.

Mindoon, Reserve steamer, 1600 transport coolies.

Paulang, Travelling Hospital.

Waikema, Travelling Hospital.

At night the fleet was anchored in the same order at a distance of one cable apart, and two armed steam-launches manned by bluejackets were sent a mile ahead with fire grapnels, and blue lights on board; the guard boats frequently patrolled across the river; crews were also held in readiness to man all the boats of the Naval Brigade, and to proceed, if required, to the assistance of the launches with gun-cotton charges, so that any floating object might at once be destroyed or towed to the bank.

The river fleet in order of sailing extended for a distance of over 5 miles, and, owing to the strength of the current and the difficulty of navigation, steamers frequently went aground, and it was impossible to keep station; communication was, however, maintained by the military signallers under Lieut.-Colonel E. Begbie of the Madras Army. A group of signallers with flags, heliographs, and lamps was stationed on the roof of each of the steamers, prepared to communicate with any of the steamers; and these men exhibited a devotion to duty and a skill in execution by day and by night, in storm and in sunshine, which were most praiseworthy. Without them it would have been impossible to carry on operations with the necessary rapidity, as there were but few launches with the flotilla, and they were in constant requisition. It will be observed that the order of advance was first the reconnoitring party, then the survey vessel to buoy the channels, then the General in Command to give the necessary orders; after him the senior naval officers to direct the operations of the Naval Brigade, and advise regarding those of the Royal Artillery during bombardments; after the artillery followed the divisional troops, the 2nd Brigade, the 1st Brigade, and the 3rd Brigade—all prepared to land

when required—and in rear of all came the hospitals. Each group of vessels was complete in itself, the troops having charge of their own ammunition, Commissariat stores, baggage, and tents ; tents and stores were arranged as parapets to afford some protection for the soldiers and ammunition against projectiles fired from the shore. Bread was baked daily on the three steamers carrying British Infantry, and was thence distributed ; the meat ration for the most part consisted of excellent beef in 1 lb. blue tins. The Commissariat arrangements throughout the expedition were perfect.

On the 22nd the force advanced from Silaymyo at 7 a.m. About midday a deserted flat belonging to the King of Burma was passed ; at 3 p.m. the *Irrawaddy* reported that two Burmese steamers were at Nyoungoo above Pagan. At 4.10 p.m. the Naval Brigade advancing observed earthworks on a cliff above the Burman steamers, and troops marching to occupy them. At 4.15 p.m. the *Palow* opened fire with her 64-pr. and the enemy replied with field guns. Then the *Irrawaddy*, the *Ngawoon*, and the *Yunan* engaged the batteries. Presently the enemy abandoned the works and retired ; the Burman steamers were sinking. At 5.30 a party of bluejackets and marines was landed to spike the guns. There were two 18-pr. field guns, five brass carronades, and a quantity of ammunition. The cannonade gave us an opportunity of watching the long-range practice of our artillery, and gave the townsmen of Pagan an idea of the power of the guns and of the strength of the Expeditionary Force which anchored that night off Pagan and Nyoungoo. Pagan is no longer a city of mercantile importance, but hundreds of pagodas, the finest and most permanent group of sacred buildings in Burma, attest the former splendour of the old capital.

On the 23rd, at daylight, a pilot came off and stated that 1000 soldiers were plundering Pagan and the adjacent villages, that he had been imprisoned by them, but had escaped in the night, and that the troops had

been brought down in the two steamers and flat from Mandalay to obstruct the river, but that there had not been time to effect their object, so the steamers were run aground in order that the crews might avoid being captured. Two companies of British Infantry, two mountain guns, and a company of sappers, and four companies of Native Infantry were left at Nyoungoo, the port of Pagan, with orders to entrench. Six new cases of cholera among the troops were reported this day, eight cases having occurred since the force anchored at Minhla.

The inhabitants and monks of Pagan who visited the Political Officer were anxious to know what was to become of the country; they were pleased to hear that their religion would be respected, and that a British detachment would be left at Nyoungoo to keep order and protect them from the Burman soldiers. These soldiers from Mandalay evacuated Pagan in the morning before our men landed.

At 3.20 p.m. the flotilla weighed anchor and advanced 6 miles to Thet-touk before sunset. Firing was heard from a battery on shore and replied to by the *Ngawoon's* barge.

On 24th the flotilla weighed anchor at 7 a.m. and advanced cautiously. The Hampshire Regiment and sappers landed at Kounyawa, 166 miles above Thayatmyo, to drive the enemy from his entrenchments and carry off the guns from the battery that had fired on the *Ngawoon* the previous evening, and had been silenced by the accuracy of her fire. Two field guns and five carronades all loaded and primed were deserted by the Burmans when they retired. The force, after about 14 miles, came to an anchorage near Myingyan whence the Burmans could be seen in crowds at a stockade about 3 miles from the left bank of the Irrawaddy. The gold umbrellas of chiefs glittered in the sun, and long columns of soldiers dressed, some in scarlet, some in white, marched from the stockade towards the river.

The Naval Brigade and the Royal Artillery on the *White Swan* and the *Atarans'* barge were ordered to engage. Fire was opened from the *Palow's* barge and taken up by the other ships. On nearing the river's bank several sunken batteries armed with field guns were discovered.

A brisk fire was maintained for some time by the artillery and machine guns of the fleet till the enemy retreated into the tall grass and ravines in the rear of the batteries. The armed ships slowly advanced, silencing the batteries as they proceeded. On approaching the upper end of the town, which is 2 miles long, the enemy was found to be strongly entrenched and supported by a battery commanding the river. Here a more determined resistance was shown, and it was not till 6 p.m. that the fire slackened. The infantry were interested spectators of the contest. It would have been an act of folly unnecessarily to bring ships crowded with soldiers under fire of the Burman batteries and entrenchments, or to land men at sunset in a country unknown to them, where they would be liable to attack at night.

At 9.30 p.m. Lieut. Trench brought reports from Captain Woodward of the operations and of the position and strength of the enemy. The *Kathleen* had been fired on on her way down to the *Doorwoon*, and a few shots were heard later in the night. At 10.45 p.m. orders were issued to the brigades to land at 7 a.m. It was arranged that one column should attack the stockade, while another should enfilade the entrenchments and assault the left flank of the batteries that bore on the river.

On the 25th, part of the force disembarked to expel the enemy (who were commanded by the celebrated Hle-thin-Atwin-woon) from his entrenchments, but finding that the ingeniously constructed works which commanded the river were deserted, and hearing that the rearguard had left the stockade, twenty-one guns were destroyed, and the troops re-embarked.



GROUP OF R.E. OFFICERS IN EXPEDITION TO UPPER BURMA, 1885-6

LEFT TO RIGHT. *Front Row*.—Lieut. F. J. Anderson, Capt. W. P. Shone, Capt. J. M. R. Baddeley, Lieut. C. N. Beevor, Capt. J. E. Dickie, Lt.-Major C. B. Wilkinson, and Capt. H. S. Andrews-Spode.
Centre Row.—Col. G. E. L. Sanford, Gen. Sir Harry P. A. E. Hickson, Lieut. J. Stewart, Capt. A. R. F. Dorward, Lieut. H. H. Barnett, Lieut. F. H. Kelly, Surgeon Capt. Evans, Lieut. C. D. Zecroft, Lieut. W. R. Martin, Lieut. J. W. Pringle, Lieut. W. A. Cairnes, Lieut. J. M. Wade, Capt. R. O. Lloyd.

Colonel Harris of the 11th B.I. was left to fortify and command a post at the upper end of the town, his garrison consisting of two companies British Infantry, two mountain guns, a company of sappers, and a wing of Native Infantry. Hle-thin-Atwin-woon afterwards told General Prendergast that he marched off the rearguard from the stockade at sunrise, so it would have been impossible to overtake his division if a pursuit had been attempted, as we had no cavalry and no animal transport. The Burman Army was 6000 strong, and was marching northwards, so it seemed nearly certain that we should meet again at Ava or Mandalay, and that the Burmans would remember the cannonade at Myingyan.

It appears that a report of a complete victory over the English was telegraphed to Mandalay on 25th, and that the King promised to send 270 gold medals and sundry other rewards for distribution to his army. Myingyan is a flourishing town, with a population of at least 10,000. It has many pagodas and monasteries. Several wealthy merchants reside there and carry on a brisk trade in cotton and salt. Many Burmans welcomed the English. A Phoongyee bishop stated that the townsfolk had been plundered, their women shamefully treated, and 200 ponies had been taken for the King's cavalry by the Burmese troops.

The flotilla left Myingyan at 3.45 p.m., and at sunset the *Doowoon* anchored opposite the historical tree under which the treaty of Yandaboo between the English and Burma was signed in 1826. The officers were somewhat disappointed at not having the usual cannonade with their 5 o'clock tea, but took comfort from the prospect of a battle at Ava, as steamers that left Mandalay early in the month had observed masses of troops at Ava and Sagine and great preparations for obstructing the Irrawaddy.

On 26th the Naval Brigade having cleared the deep water channels of boats filled with stones, that had been

so placed as to obstruct them, the force advanced. At 4 p.m., near Nazoon, a Burman state barge, flying the King's flag at the stern and a white flag of truce at the bow, was seen coming down the river. She was presently taken in tow by a steam launch and brought alongside the *Doowoon*. The barge and paddles were richly gilt; the crew consisted of a helmsman and 44 rowers. Seated in the bows under enormous umbrellas were 2 envoys from King Thebaw—

(1) Myoung-Shoay-Oh Kyouk Myoung Atwin-woon, and

(2) Shoay-at-wet-ma-soot-woon-douk.

Colonel Sladen, the Political Officer, met the envoys at the gangway and brought them on deck when they produced a note in a cover bearing the Royal Peacock Seal, of which the following is a translation:—

“FROM HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRIME MINISTER TO THE
COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ENGLISH WAR VESSELS.

“Dated MANDALAY, 25th November 1885.

“1. Although the Treaty negotiated at Simla was not concluded, the Burmese Government were under the impression that the former friendly conditions would still prevail, and they could not therefore believe that the English Government would make war in Upper Burma.

“2. The Burmese Government have always had at heart the welfare and prosperity of the English people. They have all along protected the interests of the Irrawaddy Company's teak trade and the general interests of all British subjects.

“3. We are desirous of still further protecting British interests as far as lies in our power, both at present and in all future time.

“4. The last letter (ultimatum) forwarded by the English Government contained very important political

matter, and our Sovereign regrets that the time allowed was too short to admit of serious deliberation.

"5. The English Government ought to have known that the only reason why the Burmese Government in their reply to the said letter did not fully concede all the demands made was because we were not allowed sufficient time for deliberation. It must have been apparent from the tenor of our reply that the Burmese Government was desirous of remaining on terms of amity and friendship.

"6. The Burmese Government did not wholly reject the rights and privileges claimed by the English Government, and we are grieved to find that the English Government, which has always been so friendly, should in the present instance have made immediate war on us. We have simply resisted in order to maintain the reputation of the kingdom and the honour of the Burmese people.

"7. The English are renowned for their just and straightforward action in all matters (political). We look forward therefore with confidence to their doing what is just and proper in the present instance.

"8. The country of Burma is one which deserves justice and consideration. We believe that it will receive this consideration at the hands of the English Government.

"9. If this is granted the Kingdom of Burma need not be annexed. It is well to remember that on a former occasion Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen Empress was pleased to declare publicly that there was no intention on the part of the English Government to annex Burma unless such a step was necessitated on good cause shown. As no such occasion exists the great Powers of Europe should not have it in their power to say that the Royal declaration has not been faithfully observed.

"10. In addition to the rights and privileges already granted in our reply to your ultimatum, His Majesty

the King of Burma has now declared his will to concede all the other demands which were not at first allowed, because we had not then sufficient time to bring them under consideration.

“ 11. His Majesty the King is well disposed (in mind and heart). He is straightforward and just, and expects the English Government will act in accordance with the wishes expressed in his letter.

“ 12. By so doing, the world will have no cause to say that the English have acted unjustly, or with a disregard to the rules of international law.

“ 13. The English Government entered our country and attacked us with a number of war vessels. We were obliged to resist. We now desire that hostilities shall cease, and we trust that the English Government will meet us half-way and enter into a Treaty by which friendly intercourse may be resumed between the two great countries.

“Dated 4th DECREASE OF TASOUNGMON 1247.”
(25th November 1885.)

While the note was being translated, General Prendergast had some conversation with the envoys, of whom Myoung-Shoay-Oh was very intelligent. He had visited Simla, London, and Paris, and spoke French fluently. He declared that the Europeans in Mandalay were safe, and that the King was in his palace at the capital.

As the advance of the former English expedition had been delayed for weeks under pretext of negotiation, on this occasion the fleet was directed to move on, so as to intimate that nothing would now stop it. The *Doowoon* which had been leading, eased speed so that the Burman officials could see the flotilla pass, and could form some estimate of the British Force. The following reply to the Prime Minister was then handed to the envoys :—

“General Prendergast begs to inform The Kin Woon Mengyi in reply to his letter of this date, that,

acting in accordance with the instructions he has received from the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, it is quite out of his power to accept any offer or proposal which would affect the movement of the troops under his command on Mandalay.

“No armistice therefore can at present be granted ; but if King Thebaw agrees to surrender himself, his army, and his capital to British arms, and if the British residents at Mandalay are all found uninjured in person and property, General Prendergast promises to spare the King’s life and to respect his family. He also agrees not to take further military action against Mandalay beyond occupying it with a British Force, and stipulates that the matter in dispute between the countries shall be negotiated on such terms as may be dictated by the British Government. A reply to this communication must be sent so as to reach General Prendergast by 4 a.m. to-morrow.

“By Order,

(Signed) E. B. SLADEN, Colonel,
Chief Civil Officer, Burma Field Force.

S.S. ‘DOOWOON,’
26th November 1885.”

After the departure of the envoys a new excitement was caused on board the *Doowoon* by the sight of a strange steamer ahead. Colonel Sladen with half a dozen sailors boarded her, and she proved to be a king’s war steamer. She had been guarded by the *Kathleen* pending the arrival of orders from headquarters. She flew the Burmese standard, and was armed with six guns ; her decks were barricaded ; she had Burman soldiers on board, and was lying with steam up close to the shore. When the British Fleet approached, most of the sailors deserted, but 57 of them were made prisoners, and a party of the *Kathleen’s* crew took charge and brought her up to the fleet. She was in good order and a valuable prize.

The flotilla anchored for the night off Kyouk-ta-

lounge, 7 miles below Ava, and detailed orders were issued for the attack of Ava, to be made the following morning. The Naval Brigade and Royal Artillery in co-operation with the navy were to bombard Ava, Sagine, and the forts near them, while the military force was to land near Ava, and assault the works in succession from east to west.

On the 27th the fleet weighed anchor at daylight, but was delayed by dense fog. When this had lifted, the steamers advanced cautiously; the "young bloods" on board fervently prayed (as was well expressed by a pious sapper before Magdala) "that it might please God to harden the King's heart, and that we should have a bloody battle before sunset," but, alas for their hopes, at 10.30 a.m. when we were within 3 miles of Ava, the envoys again approached the *Doowoon* in their gilded boat, bearing a Royal mandate received by telegraph, of which the following is a translation:—

No. I.—*Sent by Royal Order.*

FROM THE HLOT DAU TO BO HM00 ATWIN-WOON,
PEN-MYO-SA MAY THET ATWIN-WOON, KYOUK
MYOUNG ATWIN-WOON, WET MA SOOT WOONDOUK,
PENDALAI WOONDOUK.

"When the English ships arrive you are on no account to fire on them. Let all the troops keep quiet. Publish this abroad everywhere. The King concedes unconditionally to all the demands made by the Commander of the English Forces as contained in his letter of yesterday's date. You are to let the English Commander know this as quickly as possible."

Notwithstanding the humble tone of the King's dispatch, it behoved us to beware of treachery. The British Fleet was approaching Ava. It was known that a sunken reef extended nearly across the Irrawaddy between Ava on the left bank and Sagine on the right bank. The direction of the reef was now delineated by

cargo boats, flats, and steamers that had been sunk on the top of it, and in the fairway channels through it. The Fort Sagine (also called Ava Redoubt), Sagine Redoubt, on the ramparts of Ava, and in Fort Thabyadan, a hundred guns were prepared to sink any vessel that might attempt to force a passage through the barrier.

The walls of Ava and Sagine, and the parapets of the redoubts on each side of the river were gay with glittering flags and golden umbrellas, and with the bright scarlet uniforms of the Burman Army.

It having been explained to the envoys that a large Burman force with artillery could not be left on the sole line of communication between Rangoon and Mandalay, the immediate surrender of the arms in Ava and the neighbouring works was demanded. They considered reference to Mandalay by telegraph necessary on this point. While awaiting the reply the envoys accompanied General Prendergast on board the *Palow*, and Captain Woodward advanced and lay opposite to Ava Redoubt. Commander Carpenter went forward with steam launches to make a way through the barrier ; before 3 p.m. he reported that a practicable channel had been found, and buoyed out. As it was now possible for our ships to take up their appointed stations for the attack, the cession of arms was again demanded, and orders were signalled to the armed vessels to prepare to engage, and to the Brigadier-Generals to land the troops, on the ships opening fire. On this one envoy went ashore, and presently returned with the royal mandate, "You are to surrender all arms required by the English Commander-in-Chief," which he said had just arrived. The order for the debarkation of troops was countermanded, but the gun's crews, which had been at their posts all day, remained on the watch lest there should be any hostile movement on the part of the Burmans. Col. Sladen landed at Ava with the envoys to give orders for the arms to be quickly relinquished ; the Royal Welsh Fusileers went

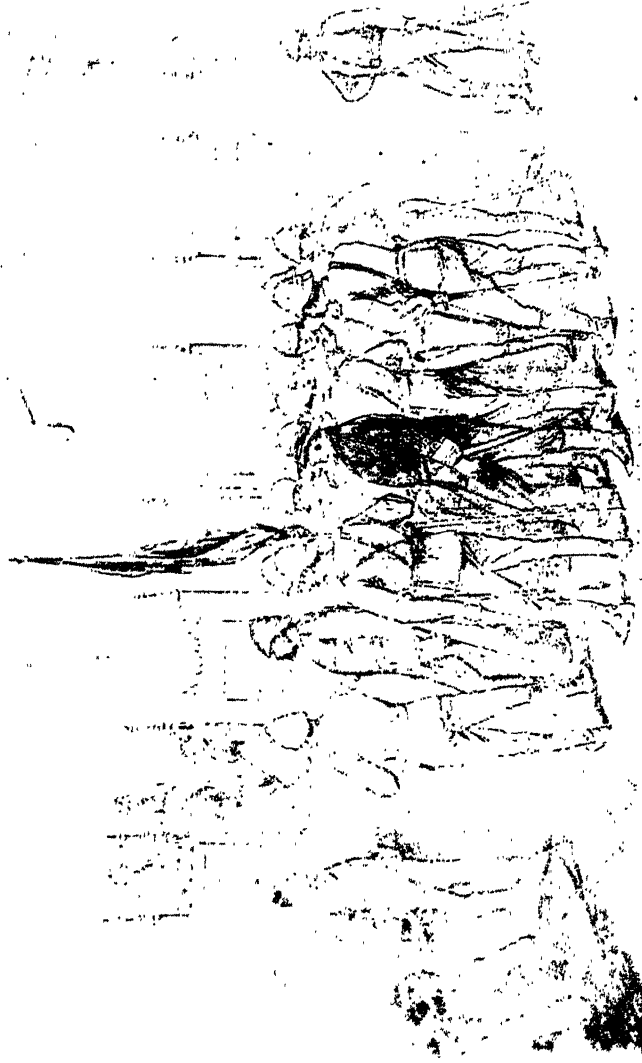
on shore, and the Burmans filing past laid hundreds of muskets, rifles, and swords at their feet, and were astonished and delighted to find that they were allowed to depart in peace. If we had taken a great number of prisoners the effect at Mandalay might have been bad, and the Europeans there might have suffered, moreover the prisoners would have required tonnage, food, and guards, and would have hampered us considerably, when we might have work for every man of the Force at Mandalay, for we did not thoroughly trust King Thebaw.

Fatigue parties of his Brigade were employed by Brigadier-General Norman till after dark in carrying on board guns from the batteries, and small arms from the places where they had been laid down. So at Sagine and Thabyadan the guns and small arms were taken by Brigadier-General White and his Brigade on the afternoon of the 27th and the morning of the 28th. Upwards of 100 pieces of ordnance were captured at Ava.

The redoubts of Ava, Sagine, and Thabyadan were designed and built by the Italian Barbieri. Those of Ava and Thabyadan were provided with excellent casemates and broad wet ditches. The redoubts of Sagine and Ava were well placed for disputing the passage of the river where the fairway is contracted by shoals and rocks, and Thabyadan commands the mouth of the Myit-gue River, which falls into the Irrawaddy just above Ava.

After an exciting day for our extremely vulnerable flotilla, the decks of steamers and flats, crowded with Her Majesty's soldiers, had been lying for many hours uncomfortably near the enemy's batteries at a time when the accidental discharge of a rifle might have provoked hostilities.

Detailed orders were issued for the attack of shore batteries at Mandalay, and for the debarkation of troops on the morrow.



GENERAL PRENDERGAST'S VISIT TO KING THEBAV. GIVES HIM TEN MINUTES
TO PREPARE TO LEAVE MANDALAY.

On the 28th the flotilla advanced 10 miles to Mandalay. No soldiery appeared, but thousands of peaceful Burmans assembled on the bank to see the fleet.

His Excellency the Kinwoon Mingyee was invited to come on board, and concert measures for the occupation of the city and palace by British troops, but as His Excellency was not present at the appointed hour, the British force marched unopposed to the palace and took charge of the gates and the palace. The city is three miles from the landing-place; there were but few Burmans in the streets, which are broad, and for the most part furnished with avenues of trees; the people were orderly and undemonstrative, the guard-houses were deserted. The Kinwoon Mingyee, riding on an elephant, came to the city gate, and reported that Thebaw was still in his palace.

Colonel Sladen had a long interview with the King and arranged that His Majesty should make his formal surrender next day. Brigadier-General White remained with the Hazara Battery, Hampshire Regiment, and 1st Madras Pioneers to guard His Majesty, and the remainder of the Force marched back to their ships, leaving guards at the city gates. Mandalay was absolutely quiet all night.

The outer wall and embankment of Mandalay is about 20 feet high, and 60 feet thick at top, it encloses an area of 7 miles by 4 miles. The city is rectangular, the length of each front is about 2000 yards, its walls are of handsome red brick, upwards of 20 feet in height; they are crenelated and flanked by square towers, and the berm¹ is 40 yards in breadth, and outside of it is a wet ditch of 200 feet wide and 12 feet deep.

The palace inside the city is protected by a masonry wall about 18 feet high with a narrow banquette. Fifty feet outside the walls is a substantial stockade of teak 15 feet high, the length of each side of this

¹ Space of ground between the rampart and the moat.

stockade is over 700 yards. The population of Mandalay was estimated at 100,000 inhabitants; the arsenal and magazine within the palace enclosure were well provided with guns and ammunition, so that a stout resistance might have been made to the British force.

On the 29th, accompanied by His Excellency Sir Frederick Richards (who had just arrived from India), the British Staff and the principal Ministers of State, General Prendergast visited the King in a pavilion within the precincts of the palace and accepted his resignation.

The Queen Mother, and Queens Soopia Lat, and Soopia Gale were present during the interview. Thebaw's request to retain his own ruby ring, and Soopia Lat's diamond necklace, was granted. Although they had been warned that they must embark in the afternoon, the King and Queens were importunate for permission to stay at Mandalay a few weeks—a few days—or even a few hours! It was painful to General Prendergast to deny them the favour, and useless to prolong the conversation, so Thebaw was assured that it was for the good of his country that he should leave it, and was warned that his escort would be ready in ten minutes! Suitable conveyances were with difficulty secured, but at 3.30 p.m. Thebaw and the ladies of his family and Court were led from the pavilion through the Hall of Audience, down the steps by which in former days even Ambassadors could approach the Royal presence only on their knees. The procession, headed by the Queen Mother, moved slowly between lines of British soldiers to the east or royal gate of the palace, whence the royal party was taken in carriages to the wharf, which was reached at nightfall. Brigadier-General Norman commanded the escort, consisting of 2-1st Cinque Ports Division Royal Artillery, the mounted Infantry Corps, the Royal Welsh Fusiliers, and 23rd M.L.I. A



DEPARTURE OF KING THERAW FROM MANDALAY.

After a picture by Mr. Melton Prior (by permission of Editor of "Illustrated London News.")

crowd had assembled at the landing place, and darkness added somewhat to the responsibilities of the situation. Here and there the wailing of women was heard, and the Burmans in their anxiety to see what was taking place showed slight signs of impatience, but the demonstration was feeble, and the embarkation took place without hitch or untoward incident.

It was satisfactory to get a receipt from Colonel Le Messurier commanding the guard, composed of two companies of the Liverpool regiment, on board the steamer *Thooreah*, for "1 King, 3 Queens, 1 Prime Minister, 2 Members of Council, 3 Woons, 16 Princesses, 2 Maids of Honour, and 43 followers."

The *Thooreah*, escorted by the *Gnawoon*, manned by the Royal Navy, started for Rangoon the following morning. At 5.30 p.m. the 21st and 25th M. Infantry, under command of Brigadier-General Foord, marched from the riverside to keep order in Mandalay, and at 6 p.m. the 12th M.I., under Colonel Rowlandson, was posted in the suburbs to patrol and keep the peace; one company protected the French Consulate.

There was some excitement in the town during the night—a Burman jeweller was said to have been shot by dacoits on the roof of his own house, and his brother was shot by mistake by a European civilian, who fired from an Italian's house; two dacoits were killed, and one was badly wounded by the patrols.

On the 30th, starting at 7 a.m., General Prendergast rode to the palace with some Staff Officers, but without escort, some dacoits were brought in by the Provost Marshal, and orders were issued that all prisoners were to be dealt with by the Civil Power. From the palace the General went round Mandalay Hill to look for hutting ground for the troops; when returning towards the "Doowoon," by a road parallel to the one by which they went to the palace, some citizens told them that they were in terror of dacoits, and

they were informed that in case of need they could obtain assistance from the British guards at the city gates. At 3 p.m. the General again started for the palace, and sent his four mounted infantry orderlies by parallel roads, in search of "atrocities" through a part of the town that had been reported to be disturbed, but they could find none; that evening Mouka Tomail, Custom Contractor to the Burma Government, gave the General a splendid dinner in the town, so that he must altogether have ridden 20 miles in Mandalay during the day and night, and found all quiet; nevertheless additional precautions were taken for the safety of the city and suburbs from marauders. Amara-poora was reconnoitred, and found to be peaceful; and orders were issued for the conduct of the troops in case of the outbreak of fires in the town. The palace was strictly guarded, and a committee was appointed to take over and secure all royal property. It was arranged that the "Hlot-daw" or Supreme Council (of which Colonel Sladen was nominated President) should carry on the Government, and that the "Hlot-daw" or Hall of Justice, which had been temporarily occupied by British officers, should be given back to the Burman Ministry; that the "Bahozen Tower," on the top of which the hours are struck by day and night on drum and bell, should be re-established in all its state. A general disarmament of the city, and suburbs, having been ordered by the "Hlot-daw," piles of rifles, muskets, spears, and swords were delivered at the city gates, and other guard-houses during the next few days. The following is a list of the Ministers and Members of the Hlot-daw—

Toung Kwen Myosa Mengyi, Tinedah Myosa Mengyi, Atwin Won Hlay Then Won Salay Myosa, Atwin Won Pein Myosa, Atwin Shoaydike Won Powk Myin Myosa, Atwin Myne Gyne Myosa, Wondouk Modah Myosa, Wondouk Wetmasoot Myosa, Wondouk Pemtalay Myosa, Wondouk Myin Soogyi Woon,

Thatama Htana Chyindween Khayine Won, Tsa Hta Htana Pukangyi Whayine Won, Tsa Yah Wondouk.

On 1st December the following proclamation was issued in the Burmese and Shan languages :—

“ TO ALL KARYN WUNS, WUNS, BOHS, SILKES, NAKANS, MYO-OKS THUGYSS, AND OTHER CIVIL AND MILITARY OFFICERS IN THE BURMESE EMPIRE.

“ 1. King Thebaw having surrendered himself to the Major-General commanding the Army of Occupation, which now holds the capital, and all the principal forts and military stations throughout Upper Burma, ceases to be King, and has been deported from Upper Burma.

“ 2. The Ministers and all the chief officers of State now at the capital have acquiesced in King Thebaw's surrender, and they are at present engaged, in concert with Colonel Sladen, Chief Political Officer, in arranging the affairs of the State.

“ 3. Their attention is immediately directed towards the restoration of order, and the pacification of the country at large.

“ 4. Until the will of Her Majesty the Queen Empress of India is known, the civil and military administration of the country rests in General Prendergast, who desires to carry on the Government with the aid of such of the Ministers, Governors, and other officers of the State, at present in office, who agree to remain and perform loyal service to the British Government.

“ 5. Priests will be protected, and will be allowed to carry on their religious duties. The precincts of monasteries, theins, and pagodas will be preserved. The Buddhist religion will remain the religion of the country, and will be respected in every way.

“ 6. All persons, great and small, will be left unmolested in the enjoyment of their privileges, provided they remain quiet and peaceable. Cultivators will be allowed to cultivate their crops, and traders to pass to and fro, and to trade without molestation or hindrances.

All inhabitants will be permitted to engage in their national sports, and otherwise to follow the customs of their country.

“7. All Wondouks, Wuns, Bohs, Silkes, Nakans, Myo-oh Thuggyis, and other civil and military officers in Upper Burma are hereby informed that they will, provisionally and temporarily, be retained in office if they faithfully discharge the following duties and accept the following responsibilities, namely:—

(1) They must continue to perform their several duties, police, judicial or revenue, as the case may be, under the orders of the civil officer.

(2) All matters of importance must be reported by officials without delay to the civil officer.

(3) They must do their utmost to suppress, and will be held responsible if they do not suppress, crime, especially dacoitry and robbery. Dacoits, robbers, and vagrants without means of livelihood must be arrested, and sent to the civil officers.

(4) Revenue officials will continue as heretofore to collect the revenue, which will be forwarded through the Wun to the civil officer.

(5) Officials must use all means in their power to allay public anxiety, and to pacify the district townships and villages under their charge.

“8. All officials and residents are warned that any town or district wherein any British soldier or follower is killed, or maltreated, will be liable to a heavy fine and to a general disarming of the population. Any town, district, circle or village where dacoities continue, or dacoit bands are harboured, will be liable to fine, and to payment of the cost of extra police.

“9. All officials are instructed that they are still to seek orders from the Hlot-daw or Council of Ministers at Mandalay; and they are assured that no harm will come to them by reason of their having obeyed this notice, as King Thebaw will never again rule the country.

“10. Officials or others who disobey this notice, or

who abet disturbance of any kind, will be visited with the displeasure of the British Government. Anyone who maltreats British subjects will be severely punished.

“11. The British Government will take note of those officers who most fully follow the above instructions, and will take care that their services are recognized. The Civil officer will, subject to the orders of the Military Commandants of stations, try, and, on conviction, punish any criminals whom the local officials consider to have committed serious offences since the British occupation of the country.

“The local officials will deal as heretofore with lighter offences.

“12. The Proclamation supersedes the printed notices already issued by Civil Officers at the stations at Minhla, Pagan, and Myingyan.

“By order of Major-General H.N.D. Prendergast, V.C., C.B., Commanding Burma Field Force.

(Signed)

“E. B. SLADEN, Colonel,
Chief Political Officer.

“MANDALAY PALACE,
The 1st December 1885.”

On 3rd December the Thatana Byne (Buddhist Archbishop of Mandalay) published an order calling upon all bishops and priests to proclaim throughout Burma that Buddhism is in no danger by reason of the British occupation; he also ordered that weapons of war were not to be received or kept in any kyoung or monastery.

On 5th December the Hle-thin-Atwin-woon, a Minister of the Interior who commanded the Burmese Forces opposed to us at Myingyan, arrived, made his submission, and was allowed to take his accustomed place as a Member of the Supreme Council of State.

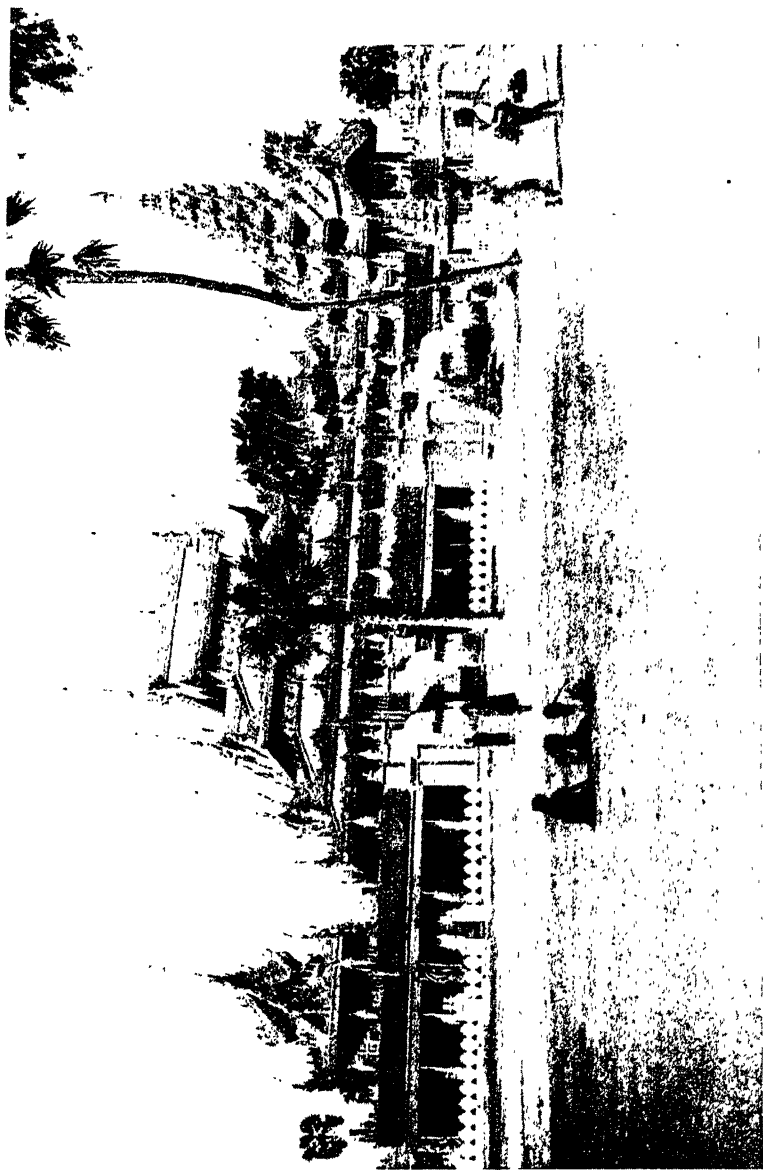
On the 9th, two renowned officers surrendered their swords of office. One was the Showay-Hlan-Bo General who, a month previously, had left Mandalay with the

Royal troops under order to operate against Tonghoo ; the other was the Governor of Shwebo, an old soldier of high repute ; with his sword he sent Rs. 20,000 of revenue and a royal prince, who having fled from Mandalay to Shwebo had been made prisoner by the Governor.

Several governors submitted in the course of the next few days.

About this time five royal princes were sent to Rangoon at the request of the Ministers and of the Princes themselves, as their presence in Mandalay would be likely to have a disturbing effect on the country.

The city of Mandalay remained tranquil, but bands of robbers infested the suburbs, and it was necessary to send out a number of small columns, some to attack dacoits, some in search of Europeans who were employed in the forests by the Bombay Burma Trading Corporation ; and the Naval Brigade performed excellent service by undertaking expeditions to points accessible from the river. To a casual observer the advance to Mandalay may seem to have been a very easy matter, but if Cammotto had had time to sink the steamers and flats in the channel at Myongben-maw the force might have been delayed there for some days, and time would have been allowed for barriers to be made at Minhla and Pagan ; again, the march on Gwe-gyoun-Kamyo, and Minhla was made confidently by General Prendergast, because he had made a study of the attack which no other general had ever had the opportunity of doing ; then the heavy rainfall from 18th to 23rd November was providential, as it supplied water enough to permit the flotilla to traverse shallow channels with comparative ease. Again, if the batteries near Ava and Sagine had attempted to stay our progress, we must have incurred severe loss, and even if the defences of Mandalay had been heartily undertaken it would have taxed our resources to reduce the capital.



QUEEN'S KYOUNG, MANDAI AY.

If Thebaw had retired as had been arranged by him, first to Shwebo, and then to Bhamo and into the Shan states, the difficulties of the expedition would have been very seriously enhanced.

The greatest care was necessary throughout, even at the palace when General Prendergast was about to visit the King. The Kinwoon Mengyi, the only minister present at the time, tried to evade going in, and then said it was necessary that the four ministers should all be present. The three absentees were not anxious to come; but when a company of British soldiers had been told off to visit the palace of each, the Mengyi came forward, and by their presence notified their acquiescence in the dethronement of Thebaw.

Even when conveying the royal prisoners from the palace to the steamer, the accidental discharge of a musket might have resulted in an attack on his escort by the easily excitable people of Mandalay. The military problem was solved; Mandalay was occupied and Thebaw was dethroned; the European inhabitants were safe, the principal stations on the Irrawaddy were held by the British, and all seemed quiet or nearly quiet.

Early in December, time was found to inspect the picturesque palace of the King, and to visit the great royal white elephant, which received the rank and emoluments of the governor of a province; the saintly animal lived only a few days after the departure of his lord. Knowing that a small white elephant was served from a great silver bowl, General Prendergast directed that the bowl should be placed under the protection of a guard and that a commoner vessel should be used; but on the morrow it was reported that the proud beast would accept food out of no baser metal.

The arsenal was very interesting. In it were 1177 guns, 369 wall pieces, Thebaw's own handsome rifle, and 6723 stand of small arms. Many of the guns were gilded; some were inlaid with silver; many were of European manufacture, and a few bore quaint inscrip-

tions. It was satisfactory to see British Guards on the royal dockyard, rifle factory, powder factory, powder magazine, steam saw mills and timber yard, as there were no other factories in Burma. Royal elephants, ponies and light carriages did good service for our transport department. Troops were billeted in monasteries and rest-houses that had been placed at our disposal by the Buddhist clergy, fortunately such buildings abound near the city. Beautiful structures were selected for use as hospitals, and suitable quarters near them were occupied by the medical officers. Although the health of the force had been and still was remarkably good, it was deemed expedient to establish a cholera hospital. Up to the 6th December the number of cases was—among British troops—ten cases, of which eight were fatal.

British Troops	.	.	10 cases, of which	8 were fatal.
Native Troops	.	.	57	11
Followers	.	.	51	16
			<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	.	.	118	35

The practice was adopted of sending the sick to Thayatmyo, Rangoon, and India in batches from time to time.

Among the sufferers in hospital were the Burmans who had been wounded at Minhla and in the neighbourhood of Mandalay. They were excellent patients, always good-humoured and grateful; the ladies of their families were allowed to visit them, and gracefully testified approbation of the kind treatment the men received by presenting bouquets to the surgeons in attendance.

When the Expeditionary Force reached Mandalay there was terror and confusion in the palace, and nearly all the prisoners were set free, five queens and a large party of princesses and children; these took refuge with Mrs. Antrim, who resided in the town. Some of the ladies were young, prettily dressed and fascinating.

It was trying to hear their tales of sorrow from the trembling lips of the unfortunate ladies as follows :

QUEEN LIN BAU PAYA is daughter of Myah Oung Thugyi, and mother of the Chalun and Yea MOUNG Princes, also to the Salin Princess. The Yea MOUNG Prince and his family were put to death by Thebaw when he ascended the throne, and the Salin Princess became a nun to escape ill-treatment. The Queen had been in prison for seven years.

QUEEN THIT PAU PAYA witnessed the execution by Thebaw of her three sons and her grandchildren. She, too, was imprisoned for seven years.

QUEEN SAGAR ZANE PAYA, sister of the above-mentioned two queens, has three daughters but no sons. She and her daughters were kept in the palace as servants to Queen Soopia Lat.

QUEEN KHOAN MAH YUA PAYA had four sons and five daughters. All her sons, her brother, and two grandchildren were murdered by Thebaw; she was in prison for three years.

QUEEN MYOUK SHWAY YEA PAYA and her daughter were in prison the whole of Thebaw's reign; many of their relations who held high office during the reigns of the Pagan and Mendone Kings were killed by Thebaw. Many of the ladies have been pensioned by the British Government.

On arrival at Mandalay measures were taken to gain the confidence and goodwill of the citizens; military bands played every night for their amusement, and weekly race meetings were held on the green sward between the rampart and the moat on the north side of the city. Burmans joined freely in the pony and foot races, and were delighted with the gymnastic performances of British athletes. Members of the Hlot-daw and people of all sorts mixed amicably with the English spectators of the sports.

All were good-tempered and orderly. They especially love boat and pony races.

The Hle - thin - Atwin - woon, who commanded Thebaw's troops at Myingyan, would at any time throw aside the cares of State to accompany General Prendergast to the racecourse.

The General had made acquaintance with him on board the *Tigris* armed steamer, showed him the Nordenfelt and Gardner guns, the bullets from which had passed unpleasantly near him in the batteries at Myingyan; taught him to use a knife and fork gracefully, and to eat plum jam without being choked by the stones. They became fast friends, and it was a pleasure to the General on a later occasion to meet his wife, a lady who displayed considerable force of character by leaving Rangoon (whither she had been sent for the sake of her health) at a moment's notice to join her husband at Mandalay in his misfortune, when she heard that he had fallen into disgrace with the British authorities; the Atwin-woon did not even know that she had started. A charming little princess, her adopted daughter, was her companion on the journey.

On the 10th December the mail steamer brought the following telegrams:

From the Viceroy: "I am commanded by Her Majesty to express to you her warm thanks, and her admiration of the skill with which you have conducted the whole expedition."

From the Viceroy: "I have very great satisfaction in informing you that the Queen-Empress has been graciously pleased to confer upon you the distinction of K.C.B., and I send you herewith my warm congratulations."

From the Viceroy: "I congratulate you on the success of the Burma Expedition you have conducted. It is entirely in accordance with the wishes and intentions of the Government of India; and we fully appreciate the military skill, the prudence, and the humanity which have enabled you to attain such

important results at such little cost of life, and without engendering animosity or ill-feeling between ourselves and the people of Upper Burma. The Government of India will be obliged by your conveying to the officers and soldiers, European and native, under your command, its thanks for the manner in which they have seconded your efforts, and sustained the credit of Her Majesty's army."

From the Commander-in-Chief in India: "My warmest congratulations on the very successful termination of the Expedition entrusted to your charge. Everything seems to have been admirably done. My thanks to all the troops under your command."

From the Governor of Madras: "I congratulate you on your success, and on the prompt recognition it has received at home. The Viceroy has expressed to me his great satisfaction with work so well done by Madras troops, a satisfaction which is shared to the full by the Madras Government."

From the Chief Commissioner of Burma: "I congratulate you most heartily on the complete success of your expedition. The forbearance you showed to the enemy at Sagine, and to the King at Mandalay, was an example to us all!"

From his father, Mr. Thomas Prendergast, late of Indian Civil Service: "1st Corinthians xv. 57, 'But thanks be to God which giveth us the victory, through our Lord Jesus Christ.'"

The following letter from Lord Dufferin, the Viceroy, may fitly be introduced here to emphasize the very high appreciation he had of the success of the operations. It is dated 29th December 1885, from Calcutta.

"I cannot rest content without conveying to you in a more permanent form than a telegraphic message my high appreciation of the manner in which you have conducted the whole of the Burma business. It does

you the greatest possible credit ; and I am happy to say that your services have been fully appreciated both at home and in India itself. The Queen is delighted, so is the Secretary of State, and so is the Government of India. One of the characteristics of success is that it excludes from public observation the fact that in the hands of a bungler the result might have been very different ; and we have already received sufficient information in regard to the difficulties with which you have had to cope to convince ourselves that it is rather to your skill and good management, than to any exceptional easiness of the task you were commissioned to fulfil, that so satisfactory a conclusion of the affair is to be attributed. Had there been only a little mismanagement, any unnecessary delay or less promptitude and decision, the conquest of Burma would have probably cost us many valuable lives, and greatly aggravated our future difficulties. As it is, thanks to your skill, prudence, and humanity, and your rapidity of execution, we have attained our ends with little loss to ourselves or to Her Majesty's future subjects. This circumstance will enable us, of course, the more readily to shape our eventual policy. Again congratulating you upon the well-deserved honours conferred upon you by Her Majesty, as well as on the high place to which your recent achievements have raised you, both in the eyes of the English and of the Indian public, believe me, my dear Sir Harry, yours sincerely,

(Signed) "DUFFERIN."

Monsieur Haas, the French Consul, left Mandalay in December 1885, and soon afterwards Signor Andriano, the Italian Consul (who had supplied the Indian Government with much valuable information), reported the departure of himself and the Italian colony. Before leaving Rangoon, General Prendergast advised that Toungoo on the river Sitang should be put in a state of defence, that the road 50 miles in length to our

northern frontier should be completed, and that a movable column should be prepared after the fall of Minhla to cross the frontier, and advance 34 miles to Ningyan, an important town in which the Bombay Burma Trading Corporation possessed houses and factories.

After several skirmishes the movable column, under Colonel Dicken, took possession of Ningyan on the 3rd December, and received orders from Mandalay to reconnoitre and, if possible, occupy Yemethen, 70 miles north of Ningyan. Thus, while directing Colonel Dicken's advance northwards by telegrams *via* Rangoon, General Prendergast was also through the Hlot-daw instructing the Burman General—who had been sent by Thebaw to oppose the British column from Toungoo—to retire and lodge his arms at Pagan and Myingyan; and the General Shouay Lan Bo actually gave General Prendergast his sword on 9th December. The troops from Thayatmyo garrison had many brushes with the Burmans after the advance of the Expeditionary Force; they crossed the frontier east of the Irrawaddy, and on the 2nd December a column, under Major Law of the Royal Scots Fusiliers, attacked and took the important town of Toung-gwen-gyi. Great anxiety was felt about the fate of the Europeans who had been employed on the Chindwin River, which is a tributary of the Irrawaddy. On the 18th December, when three steamers of sufficiently light draught were available, a detachment of 60 men of the Hampshire Regiment, 60 Sappers, 60 of 23rd M.I., and 5 Bluejackets with a Gardner gun was despatched to Kindat on the Chindwin. It arrived there on the 5th January 1886, and found that Colonel T. Johnstone, C.S.I., with admirable judgment and courage, had marched from Manipur in command of a column consisting of his escort, 50 men of the 4th B.I., 800 Manipur Infantry, 23 Manipur Artillery, and 1 Mountain gun; and had, on the morning of that very day, attacked

and carried the great stockade of Kindat, and released the Governor of Kindat—whose people had risen in revolt,—and had imprisoned him and some Europeans that were under his protection. It was ascertained that Messrs. Allen, Roberts, and Moncure were murdered on board the launch *Chindwin* by the Thundawzin or Queen's Secretary. As soon as the news of the occupation of Mandalay arrived, Messrs. Morgan, Brett, and T. Ruckstuhl were protected by the Kindat Woon, and Messrs. Hill, Ross, Bates, and O. Ruckstuhl by the Mingin Woon. Messrs. Mobart and Gray arrived in Mandalay on 24th December.

On the 6th December a brigade was detailed in orders for Bhamo, though it would have been impossible on that date to equip and dispatch it. Steamers were sent northwards to reconnoitre the river, and on 11th December half a battalion of the Royal Welsh Fusiliers and two Mountain guns was ordered, under Brigadier-General Norman, to report on the state of Shwebo, a city 50 miles north-west of Mandalay, for which the Burmans have a sentimental regard, as Alompra, their renowned king, was born and died there. The city and neighbourhood were quite tranquil. The Irrawaddy above Mandalay is, at this time of year, with difficulty navigable by vessels drawing more than 3 feet.

Bhamo is on the left bank of the river, 200 miles north of Mandalay; the town and district of Bhamo had been ravaged by Shans and Kachins of late years, and, according to the best information procurable, a Chinese force from 30,000 to 100,000 strong was on its march to Bhamo.

The Expeditionary Force was ordered to occupy Mandalay, and no further orders had been received, but it seemed expedient to General Prendergast to garrison Bhamo, which is, perhaps after Mandalay, the most important strategical point, in Upper Burma. The result of doing so would, it was hoped, be the revival of trade and the acquisition of confidence in the British

Government by the inhabitants of the Upper Irrawaddy. If the latest reports by an eye witness, a Panthay doctor—who had just reached Mandalay from Bhamo and Yunan—were true, Chinese marauders and hill robbers were already in possession of Bhamo, and Chinese troops were marching towards it. General Prendergast therefore determined to take the responsibility of moving troops and guns to Bhamo. On the 15th December Mr. Charles Bernard, the Chief Commissioner of Burma, bringing with him a staff of Civil officers, arrived in Mandalay, and relieved General Prendergast of the Civil Administration of Upper Burma.

Three days after, on 18th December, headquarters of the expedition were transferred to the steamer *Kabbyoo* for the purpose of accompanying the brigade that had been detailed for Bhamo, under command of General Norman, in steamers of the lightest draught. The operation appeared too delicate to be entrusted to other hands than General Prendergast himself, and the Chief Commissioner gave him full political powers, and sent Captain Adamson and Mr. Steavenson with him as political staff. Brigadier-General George White, V.C., C.B., was left in command of Mandalay. The city itself was at this time quiet, the bazaars were open, but perfect confidence had not been established among the people, and bands of robbers were disturbing the country round. On 14th December part of the 2nd Madras Cavalry had arrived in Mandalay. On the 19th the *Kabbyoo* left Mandalay, and on the 20th, joining the vessels containing Norman's brigade destined for Bhamo (some 12 miles above Mandalay) steamed northwards.

The distribution of the Burma Field Force on 20th December '85 was :—

At Mandalay.

I.M.S. *Tigris* with Bacchante's Detachment R.N.
Q-1. Royal Artillery (on Chindwin Expedition).

G-1. Cinque Ports Royal Artillery.
 3-1. Scottish Division Royal Artillery.
 Half battery 4-1 Royal Artillery.
 Two companies Royal Welsh Fusiliers (2 companies at Shwebo).
 Hampshire Regiment (2 officers and 100 men at Sagine; 1 officer, 60 men in Chindwin Expedition).
 2nd Madras Cavalry 70 sabres (1 officer and 60 sabres to Minhla, 1 officer and 30 sabres to Toungoo).
 Three companies Queens Own (Madras) Sappers and Miners.
 1st Madras Pioneers.
 12th Mounted Infantry.
 21st Mounted Infantry (100 men at Sagine, 60 men on Chindwin Expedition).
 Half battalion 25th Mounted Infantry at Amara-poor.

At Ava.

I.M.S. *Irrawaddy* with *Woodlark* Detachment R.N.

At Myingyan.

Kathleen with *Turquoise* Detachment R.N.
 Two companies Liverpool Regiment.
 Two Guns Bombay Mountain Battery.
 One company Bombay Sappers and Miners.
 Four companies 11th B.I.

At Pagan.

Two companies Liverpool Regiment.
 Two guns, Bombay Mountain Battery.
 One company Bengal Sappers and Miners.
 Four companies Bengal Infantry.



VIEW IN UPPER DEFILE ON THE WAY TO BHAMO ON THE IRRRAWADDY

At Minbla.

Two companies Liverpool Regiment.
Two guns Bombay Mountain Battery.
Four companies 2nd Bengal Infantry.
Two companies 2nd Bengal Infantry detached
to Saigod.

At Thayatmyo.

Two companies 2nd Bengal Infantry.
Bhama Expedition.
Naval Brigade. *Turquoise* Detachment.
Half battery 4-1 North Irish Division R.A.
36 Mounted Infantry.
Half Battalion Royal Welsh Fusiliers.
Hazara Mountain Battery.
One company Bengal Sappers and Miners.
Half Battalion 25th Mounted Infantry.
Two 6·3-in. Howitzers, four 25-pr. R.M.L. guns,
six 5½-in. mortars.

The voyage up the Irrawaddy was interesting and enjoyable, the scenery in the defiles is beautiful; our only misadventures were caused by steamers grounding on sandbanks, which occasioned delay. The inhabitants of villages beside the river proposed to be friendly and to accept British rule. Friendly officials, such as the Myo-Woon of Myadoung, were at their posts, and ready to assist us; other officials who were hostile or doubtful, such as the Myo-Woons of Singai, Male, and and Moda, were said to be absent. By landing at all the chief towns and villages much valuable information was obtained; we walked freely about the villages, and were pleased to find that even the women and children were not afraid of us; and of the men, every one could read a map and relish a joke.

Below Mandalay all the defences were prepared

against attack from the river; above Mandalay the river fronts were defenceless, but the land faces were protected by stockades, many of them strong and ingeniously constructed for the purpose of resisting the inroads of the Shans and hill tribes who periodically plunder the villages. Perhaps it would be more correct to say that the object of the stockades is to dissuade the enemy from attacking, for, though a guard is mounted at the gate of every stockade, the duty of the guard is not to fight so much as to give timely warning of danger, so that the villagers may escape with their property in boats.

On 24th the flotilla anchored at Myadoung, and received news that the Wuntho Sawbwa, a powerful Shan Kadu chief, son of the Mogoung Sawbwa, was preparing to fight, and had sent to Male, Myadoung, and Moda, threatening to burn those towns if they do not supply him with men and arms. Wunthoo lies west of the Irrawaddy, 35 miles from Thingyain, opposite Myadoung, at which place two companies Royal Welsh Fusiliers were left to watch Wunthoo and to be the one link of communication between Bhamo and Mandalay.

On Christmas Day the Calcutta mail of 9th December was received, and the fleet proceeded northwards, and, two days later, at dusk, the flotilla anchored off Sabatee, 10 miles south of Bhamo.

The Wondouk of Bhamo sent to us a message of welcome, and the next day came on board the *Kahbyoo* to pay his respects. Our steamer drawing only 2½ feet of water could not approach within 3 miles of Bhamo, because the river was so shallow. It was evident that hill tribes had not occupied Bhamo. The Wondouk had received no orders from Mandalay for a month; he and his people had heard rumours of a change of Government, but he had carried on his duties as if nothing had happened; he mentioned that Chinese troops had marched to their frontier on hearing of the British Expedition.

To return the Wondouk's visit, General Prendergast walked through the town, $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles in length, enclosed by a teak stockade; probably more than half the inhabitants are foreigners. There is a large Chinese community, the head of which, having read the proclamation stating that the British would carry on the Government through the Hlot-daw and Burmese officials, shook hands heartily with the General, saying, "I am glad to see the English, the scene is the same, the actors only are changed!"

A road was constructed from the landing place where the steamers were moored, and the ordnance, consisting of 25 pr. R.M.L. guns, six 3-in. Howitzers and mortars, were dragged into the stockade; Commissariat, ordnance, and other stores were conveyed by raft or by road; defences were designed, and, in a week Brigadier-General Norman and his men were firmly established in Bhamo. The troops were for the most part accommodated in monasteries and other deserted buildings. The Burman soldiers that had been the Woondouk's guard, poor fever-stricken creatures, were disarmed and sent to Mandalay by steamer. Bhamo is on the left bank of the Irrawaddy, 3 or 4 miles below the place where it is joined by the rivers Mohlay and Taping.

The following memorandum on the general situation at Bhamo was written by the Intelligence Department on 5th January 1886:—

"The rapid and unexpected advance of the small British Force, which has occupied this important position at the highest navigable point of the river Irrawaddy, the junction and distributing point of several existing trade routes with Western China, and the intermediate base for any possible through communication with the river Brahmapootra, has quite anticipated any forward movement of the Chinese who are reported to have been watching events in considerable force from behind their frontier at Monwyn

and Momein (the former place only 60 miles distant from here), presumably ready to take advantage of any indecision on our part, by pressing a claim to what they have long wished for, *i.e.*, a footing on the Irrawaddy.

“Had they succeeded by a sudden advance, during the present unsettled state of affairs in Upper Burmah, in securing Bhamo by a *coup de main*, complications of the gravest kind would doubtless have arisen, and possession might have been considered even more than the proverbial nine points of law.

“It cannot therefore be otherwise than a matter for congratulation that the onus of any aggressive action would now lie with the Court of Pekin. Time does not yet admit of an answer to the despatch sent by General Prendergast on the 25th inst. (December) to the Chinese officials at Momein, assuring them of our desire for reopening trade and preserving cordial relations with China.

“The Burmese Wondouk of Bhamo, yesterday (4th January) received an answer to a message which he professes to have sent to the Chinese at Momein some fourteen days prior to our arrival here, asking that they should not advance beyond their frontier, in which answer the Chinese official states that they have no intention of advancing.

“This answer and statement must be taken with much reservation, as the former, if genuine, admits of a doubt as to whether the document to which it is a reply was not in the form of a request for assistance from the Chinese to resist the British. Little or no reliable information is to be at present obtained as to the numbers of the Chinese troops now said to be at Monwyn and Momein, but rumour points to the conclusion that there is a considerable increase to this normal garrison.

“The Kachin Sawbwas (or head man) could do much in giving us information on this point if they

come in, in accordance with the invitation which has just been sent them by the Political Officer. On the other hand, they could from their mountains in the intervening territory do much to frustrate friendly communication between us and the Chinese frontier; and a refusal on their part to respond to our call would seem to indicate an understanding with the Chinese frontier chiefs, inimical to us. It is quite possible that these Chinese frontier chiefs with their following, half soldiers, half marauders, might at any time act independently of any orders from their Emperor, if they fancied they saw an opportunity for another raid upon Bhamo, trusting to success for an endorsement of their action at Peking.

“Should the French decide on a partial or complete evacuation of Tonquin acquisitions, the chance of an increase to the Chinese force on their frontier from the troops thus set at liberty might be enhanced, but the great distance, and the difficulty of the country intervening would prevent any immediate reinforcement.

“The Burmese in Bhamo are in equal terror of Chinese and Kachins, and have not recovered the effects of their combined raids of December 1884, and at least the well-to-do community would be glad to see any settled rule established, and British best of all as strongest.

“The Chinese population of Bhamo, about one-third of the total, would be the source of some anxiety in the event of any hostile movement by their countrymen from Momein.

“Broadly the measures which seem to recommend themselves are—

- “1. The security of the British force here in as strong, complete, and independent position as circumstances permit, ready for any emergency.

- “ 2. To make a systematic arrangement with the Kachin and Shan chiefs of the clans between Bhamo and the frontier, for the safe convoy of caravans to and from China, through their territory.
- “ 3. To endeavour to establish cordial relations with the Chinese on the frontier, and induce them to at once reopen their trade with Upper Burmah on an extended scale.
- “ 4. To reassure the Burmese population by a firm and kindly attitude.”

The following extract from a letter from Lord Dufferin will show how highly he appreciated the responsibility, undertaken by General Prendergast, by resolving on his own initiative to occupy Bhamo.

It is dated a month after the occupation of Bhamo was an accomplished fact.

“ I entirely approved of your proceeding to Bhamo as soon as you had secured your position at Mandalay, and I was delighted when I received the announcement of your safe arrival there. I did not imagine that the Chinese themselves could have anticipated our arrival, but I thought it just possible that they might have sent in emissaries to stir up the country against us. Nothing of this sort, however, seems to have been done, but Lord Randolph Churchill telegraphed to me the other day, that he heard upon good authority that a considerable number of Chinese troops had been marched to the Yunnan frontier.”

The headquarters of the expedition left Bhamo on the 3rd January 1886, and disembarked at Mandalay on the 12th.

During December, January, and the beginning of February many affairs took place between detachments of Her Majesty's forces and parties of Burmans, all of which resulted in our favour. A number of posts were

held round Mandalay, so that the capital might be secure from danger ; and with a view to opening the direct route from Mandalay to Rangoon. A detachment advancing from Toungoo - Ningyan occupied Yemethen on 18th February.

On the 12th February His Excellency the Viceroy, accompanied by the Countess of Dufferin, and His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief in India (Sir Frederick Roberts), entered Mandalay amidst the greetings of a friendly and reconciled population.

"In further proof of this good feeling," Lord Dufferin reports, "I may mention that since we occupied the capital and other chief towns of Upper Burma, although our soldiers freely mix with the people and might easily be taken at a disadvantage, not a single murder or act of violence has been committed against them ; while our detached parties, on their arrival at the various villages of the outlying districts, are spontaneously furnished by the inhabitants with supplies of water, and received with every token of goodwill."

The Earl and Countess of Dufferin lived in the Royal Palace, and visited places of interest in and near Mandalay. Before their departure on the 18th February, His Excellency announced to an assembly of the chief officials and citizens, the incorporation of the Kingdom of Ava with Her Majesty's Empire. It may here be remarked that General Prendergast immediately after the deportation of King Thebaw telegraphed to the Viceroy to authorize him to annex Upper Burma at once. Lord Dufferin remarked, "I can quite understand that looking at the matter from your point of view such a proceeding would appear desirable, but it would not be a very opportune step to take in the midst of a general election which may possibly result in the return to power of a Government whose first act would be to annul any such proclamation."

In January 1886 it was found expedient to issue

the following memoranda for officers commanding columns :—

1. *Information*.—The officer commanding should obtain all the information available before leaving headquarters, about the enemy and the country, the roads, the streams, and the hills. As he goes along, he should add to his knowledge in every way, and on his return should commit to paper, in sketches and reports, all the information that he has obtained.
2. *Guides*.—Guides must necessarily be in front, but they should not be exposed unnecessarily, and should be well protected during their work, and well rewarded afterwards.
3. *Position of commanding officers*.—In the drill-book the proper method of marching is given. The commanding officer should as a rule be with the main body, and not with the scouts.
4. *Attack of a position*.—Every endeavour should be made to turn a position; time should be taken to reconnoitre, and try to turn a flank before commencing the attack in front. The plan of attack should as far as possible be communicated to all ranks.
5. When an unexpected volley is received on the line of march from an ambuscade, attack at once if possible before the enemy has time to reload, if impossible to make a rush, lie down till men have been sent to turn a flank.
6. When Burmans are encountered in the open, turn their flank and attack in close order.
7. *Reconnoitring patrols*.—Use reconnoitring patrols freely, and insist on their reporting what they see. *N.B.*—Determine first

what is intended to be done, then act promptly, but not hurriedly.

The ordinary musketry practice in rifle ranges of the British Army being quite inapplicable to troops employed in a country where the fighting generally takes place in dense woods, the infantry in Upper Burma were exercised in marching through jungle and firing point-blank at objects such as bottles, mats, or sheets of paper so placed as to represent enemies in ambuscade. This practice was found to be both interesting and beneficial.

On the 18th February the command in Burma was reconstructed by order of the Commander-in-Chief in India, with the approval of His Excellency the Viceroy; and the Executive duties of the command hitherto known as the British Burma Division were entrusted to General Sir Harry Prendergast, V.C., K.C.B., in addition to the command of the Burma Expeditionary Force. His headquarters were to be at Rangoon; Brigadier-General White, V.C., C.B., was to command the 1st Brigade at Mandalay, and Brigadier-General Norman to command 2nd Brigade at Bhamo.

The Staff was considerably reduced.

Sir Harry Prendergast left Mandalay on 23rd February, spent a few days in organizing the offices at Rangoon, and arrived at Toungoo on 6th March. It was reported that the district of Yemethen was in a very disturbed state, and that 10,000 men threatened our military post at Yemethen, so General Prendergast himself took reinforcements, consisting of 4 guns of a mountain battery, and two companies of Bombay Grenadiers from Toungoo to Ningyan, and from Ningyan to Yemethen. Detachments of the Lower Burma division from Toung-dwee-gyi and Yemethen were ordered to co-operate with a column of the Burma Expeditionary Force that had started from Myingyan towards Hlinedat,

north of Yemethen ; the result of the combination was that Hlinedat was occupied, and on the 19th March no hostile force was left near Yemethen. Leaving Yemethen on the 19th, Prendergast reached Toungoo on the 24th, and Rangoon on the 25th, only to find that as he had been promoted to Lieut.-General, he was to lose his command, the Secretary of State having disallowed the arrangement made by the Viceroy and Commander-in-Chief, with full knowledge of all the circumstances and the condition of the country. A more fatal mistake could not have been made. To remove from the command an able and active General at a critical time, one who was thoroughly conversant with the condition of the country, and knew his troops intimately, was a serious blunder. As the *Overland Mail* observed, "The unaccountable withdrawal of Sir Harry Prendergast from Burman military operations was a serious blunder."

CHAPTER XI

CRITICISMS DEALT WITH

It will now be desirable to discuss several matters which seem to have had a baneful effect on General Prendergast's military career. His military career ended in April 1886, when he was so unjustly and unwisely withdrawn from the command in Burma. I say unwisely, for no better or abler soldier ever served his country, and his non-employment in Burma afterwards was without a doubt injurious to the nation.

One of these matters was the persistent rumours which arose soon after he left Burma, when the British Public was getting exasperated at the fighting going on for so long a time. This was that he (Prendergast) was responsible for the continuance of the fighting, as he had not taken steps to disarm the troops of Thebaw at Ava and Sagine, etc.

The other two events to which reference will be made later on are—

1. The deportation of the *Times* correspondent from Mandalay to Rangoon ; and
2. The incident connected with the Provost-Marshal at Mandalay.

The rumours regarding the disarmament of King Thebaw's troops, I myself first heard at the close of June 1886—two months after General Prendergast left Burma, and as I heard them through a Madras civilian who had just returned from holding a high appointment in the Calcutta Council, I take it that these rumours

emanated from Calcutta. This official remarked, "He (Prendergast) will never get another military command." On being asked why? He said, "It is easy to understand the reason. He allowed the Burmese army to get away with their arms, and thus enabled them to carry on their subsequent fighting." I ridiculed this at the time, but it turned out as he had said. It was on 2nd October 1886 that Lord Dufferin wrote from Simla to Sir Harry on the subject. "A good deal of criticism has been from time to time indulged in, because on arriving at Mandalay you did not disband Thebaw's troops; I am writing a dispatch to the Secretary of State reviewing the history of the war, and I should be glad if you would furnish me with any observations you might wish to submit. I imagine that, as the army was some miles below Mandalay, and it was your object at once to obtain possession of the capital and of the king's person, to have stopped for the purpose of capturing his troops would have been out of the question, and that the moment the king made his submission they all melted away into the jungle." On the 11th October 1886, Sir Harry, who was at Ootacamund (without employment), replied to this letter as follows:—

"I would submit for your information that the distribution of the Burman Army in November 1885 seems to have been somewhat as follows: One division consisting of about 3000 men armed with firearms, and 5000 or 6000 with swords, had been dispatched to Myingyan and Toun-g-dwee-gyi (this division was recalled by the Hlotdaw early in December, and orders given that their arms should be given up at Minhla, Pagan, or Myingyan. A brigade of 2500 men was at Minhla and Gwe-gyoun-Kamyo, with a detached post of 1000 men at Nyoung-ben-Maw and Shuay-boung-weh lower down the Irrawaddy. There were detachments of 200 or 300 men each at Noungoo near Pagan, at Koungnway, at Shewbo, and at Bhamo; a force of 6000 men under the Hley-thin-Atwin-woon held Myingyan, and the bulk of

the garrison of Mandalay was told off to hold the strong positions on the river 12 miles below Mandalay, comprising Sagine, the town of Ava, Shway Kyetyet, and Thabyadin, leaving the capital only a palace guard, and detachments to hold the five gates of the city. During the advance of the British Force up the Irrawaddy, with orders to occupy Mandalay, and dethrone Thebaw, to relieve the Europeans at Mandalay, and to avoid unnecessary bloodshed, the first operation was against the detached posts at Nyoung-ben-maw and Shuay-boung-weh on 14th and 16th November. There the enemy was put to flight, 1 steamer and 2 flats were taken, the shore batteries were captured, and 11 guns destroyed, and the stockades and barracks burnt.

"4. The brigade at Minhla was defeated, and dispersed on the following day with the loss of Minhla redoubt and the strong fort of Gwe-gyoun-Kamyō, together with 45 pieces of ordnance, 276 prisoners, and over 200 killed and wounded. The prisoners worked under the engineer officers for some time, and then were released.

"5. The detachment at Nyoung-goo and Koung-wa were dispersed by the long range fire of heavy artillery on the 22nd and 24th November, and all their guns taken.

"6. On the afternoon of the 24th the strong force at Myingyan was driven from its entrenchments by the fire from the British flotilla and retired during the night, leaving 22 guns in position, the rearguard covering the retreat early on the morning of 25th. In none of the above cases would it have been possible to come up with the enemy if our troops had attempted to do so.

"7. On 26th November an ultimatum was sent to Thebaw demanding the surrender of his capital and his army. On the afternoon of 27th, Ava surrendered, and as stated in my dispatch, dated Mandalay, 14th January 1886 (para. 43): 'The Royal Welsh Fusiliers landed, and the Burmans filing past, laid hundreds of muskets, rifles, and swords at their feet, and fatigue parties of the brigade were employed by Brigadier-General

Norman till after dark in carrying off guns from the battery and small arms from the places where they had been laid down. So at Sagine and Thabyadan the guns and small arms were taken by Brigadier-General White and his brigade on the afternoon of 27th and early on the 28th. All the disbanded soldiers were set free. Ninety-one pieces of ordnance were taken away or destroyed.'

"8. As Thebaw had promised to surrender, and the channel to Mandalay was open, it would have been very unwise to waste time in searching Ava and Sagine for arms or soldiers, so on the 28th the force advanced to Mandalay. No soldiery appeared, but thousands of peaceful Burmans crowded to the bank to see the fleet. In the afternoon the force marched unopposed to the palace and took charge of the gates of the city and palace. The arms of the guards were in the arm racks, but the men were absent, except a small palace guard. All the muskets were collected and placed in charge of the British sentries, and the Burman palace guard was disbanded, so that there were none of Thebaw's troops in Mandalay to be disposed of, but for some days afterwards, men in uniform were brought in from the neighbourhood who had been in charge of the King's elephants and ponies. These troops were disbanded, but some of the men were retained to care for the transport animals of the British Force.

"9. Orders were issued through the Burman city magistrates that all citizens should surrender their arms at the British guard rooms; and a standing order was issued that every vehicle passing the gates of the city in any direction should be searched for arms by the guard of the gate.

"10. Although 1177 guns and 369 wall pieces were captured on the works and in the arsenal of Mandalay, only 6723 stand of small arms were collected altogether, so the number of Burman soldiers present at the time of occupation cannot have been great. Some of the Burman soldiers or town police were, I believe, employed

under the British Government, but, if I mistake not, the best men declined to serve in the police, because they considered that the pay offered to them was insufficient.

" 11. The Burman detachment at Shwebo was defeated and dispersed, and of the one at Bhamo, which suffered severely from fever, the survivors, about 120 in number, were disbanded in January 1886.

" 12. Your Excellency is correct in imagining that as the Burman Army was some miles below Mandalay, and it was my object at once to obtain possession of the capital, and of the King's person, to have stopped, for the purpose of capturing their troops, would have been out of the question, and that the moment the King made his submission they all melted away into the jungle, but I have given the above particulars as they may be useful in answering other criticisms which have appeared in print.—I remain, Your Lordship's most obedient servant,

(Signed) HARRY N. D. PRENDERGAST."

In addition to the above, I propose to enter here some notes on the same point which I have found among Sir Harry's papers as completely disposing of the criticisms made on his action. "If an army consists of men trained to the use of arms, and disciplined, there was no Burman Army in 1885-86. Each district supplied a proportion of men who were employed on public and palace work, and turned out as soldiers on field days. A certain number wore uniform, but none of them were trained soldiers.

"Except at Ava, I had no chance of taking prisoners. If I had taken prisoners, what was I to do with them? My ships were crowded; I did not want them, and could not feed them on board. With the prospect of a decisive battle on the morrow, I could not afford a guard for them at Ava. As stated in dispatches and letters nearly 100 pieces of ordnance, and a good store of small arms, were taken at Ava, and a much greater

number of each at Mandalay. Supposing that I had insisted on taking Ava, Sagine, and Thabyadan by force, the Burmans would have fought as long as they liked; or they could have evacuated the position; in either case they would have taken their arms with them, and in the former case I should have lost a number of men, and in both cases I should have lost time, for it would have been necessary to approach the forts carefully in succession, and attention would have been diverted from the task of making a way for the fleet through the river which was artificially blocked.

“At Mandalay the only men in uniform, so far as I remember, were the guards over the gates of the city, over the palace, and the arsenal (probably not 100 men). Their arms were secured by the British guards who relieved them. A man becomes a dacoit either to make it pay, or to acquire a reputation for bravery; if he has no arms, he would find it unprofitable, and would gain notoriety for his folly.

“It is likely enough that a large proportion of the small arms that were at Ava have been used against us, but it was absolutely impossible to prevent the men from going off with their arms, and without cavalry it would have been absurd to attempt it. Not content with allowing a lamentably inaccurate account of the expedition to be issued to his department, the Quarter-master-General in India in a magazine article attributed the disturbances in Burma to the soldiers who robbed the arsenal at Mandalay; for myself, I never heard that the arsenal was robbed, and I do not believe that it was plundered. Wherever there is anarchy or excitement in Burma, every man, whether soldier or civilian, who has a gun uses it for his own advantage; it is the custom, the Burmans are made that way! What was really required in Burma was officers: I had Sladen, Adamson, Eyre, Phayre, and two more politicals; they were told off to different stations; the regiments had their ordinary peace establishment of officers. Now the

nature of fighting in Burma is one of detachments and ambushes and wood fighting, and therefore such as to require an extraordinary number of officers, hence regimental officers could not be spared for duty as district officers. If plenty of officers, civil and military, had been sent to Upper Burma, we should have been in touch with the people much sooner. Mr. (after Sir Charles) Bernard assumed political powers on the 15th December; but to show that many political officers were required, I may mention that out of the lot mentioned above in four months, one was killed, two were invalided; one was so rash that I could not trust him; Adamson was efficient and valuable. I regret I cannot remember the name and fate of the Political Officer at Myingyan with the eastern column. I found that the political officers were not pulling together, nor inspiring confidence in the Burmans."

Now, as regards the incident of the *Times* correspondent, I shall be able to show that he was most properly given his *congé*, and it is clear that the Secretary of State should have supported the righteous action of the General; at any rate he had no right to reverse the General's decision without calling for full explanations. Had he done this, he could not with justice have cancelled the fiat of the General, but explanations seem to have been the last things he wanted!

It was apparently sufficient for him that the *Times* complained, and the Government, being in a shaky position, desired to conciliate it—hence the *Times* must be pacified at all costs, and so the correspondent was to be sent back. This conciliatory action was of really no avail, for although the Government met Parliament on 21st January 1886—when the Queen remarked in her speech that "through the gallantry of my European and Indian Forces under General Prendergast the country has been rapidly subjugated"—yet, on the 6th February, Mr. W. E. Gladstone became Premier only about two weeks after the opening of Parliament,

and the Government might have been just to the General without hurting themselves.

The following account of the matter is extracted from Sir Harry Prendergast's own papers:—

“On the very first day of the war the *Times* correspondent seems to have been annoyed that he was not present on the 14th November when the operations actually commenced with the capture of the King's vessels. He wrote a dispatch about it, and showed it to the official critic who declined to countersign it, and he thereupon complained to the General who asked him why the critic had objected to his letter. He stated that the reason was because he had stated that on a certain day the fort of Gwe-gyoun-Kamyo would be taken. The General pointed out that it was impossible his prophecy could be fulfilled, and that he had no justification in publishing false rumours. On the 26th November the *Times* correspondent was aggrieved at not being allowed to be present at the General's interview with the envoys from Mandalay.

“The only officers present were Colonel Sladen and the aide-de-camp on duty, Captain Aldworth, and, later, the Chief Staff Officer, Colonel Bengough. All the rest were very properly kept out of hearing, and it would not have been right to have any correspondent present. Colonel Sladen, however, gave the correspondent an account of the interview the same afternoon.

“On the 28th, King Thebaw was in his palace, guarded by a British brigade, and the next day Colonel Sladen had a long interview with the King, at which he allowed the *Times* correspondent to be present. This was a very serious dereliction of duty on the part of Colonel Sladen—a mistake that no subaltern should have made.

“It must be remembered that Mr. M — was not only *Times* correspondent, but also the paid legal representative of the Bombay-Burma Trading Corporation, that the ostensible cause of the war was a fine levied

by King Thebaw upon the Bombay-Burma Company on account of alleged unfair dealing on the part of the company. It was very important to the Bombay-Burma Company that the Kinwoon Mengyi, who was their friend, should be retained in power in preference to the Tynedah Mengyi. During this interview Mr. M—— was allowed to cross-examine the King, and, being a skilled advocate, could so put questions to the King, who was in terror of his life, as to extract such answers as he wished.

“On the afternoon of 29th, King Thebaw formally surrendered to me. I told him that he would have to embark at once. He asked his Ministers to accompany him, but they all declined, and I was not in favour of his taking a large staff.

“Next day I was told, to my astonishment, that the Kinwoon Mengyi had accompanied King Thebaw in the *Thooreah*. On questioning Colonel Sladen, I found that he had let him go without consulting me. Finding that the Kinwoon Mengyi was gone, and that Colonel Sladen preferred the Tynedah Mengyi, because he was a strong man, I sent a dispatch boat to Thay-atmyo to wire a report that the Tynedah would be Chief Minister, and explained to the Viceroy that I took the responsibility of the appointment rather than give evidence that there was want of accord between Colonel Sladen and myself.

“Mr. T—— of the Bombay-Burma Company, who had kindly come up to Mandalay to assist the force with his local knowledge, as he had lived in Mandalay for years, went to Rangoon in the dispatch boat, and was seen to take a packet from Mr. M——.

“After the interview of Colonel Sladen and Mr. M—— with King Thebaw on morning of 29th, the latter showed his dispatch, or parts of it, to newspaper reporters and others; and it was reported to me that there were some dangerous statements in it, so I warned Colonel Bengough, who had succeeded Colonel M'Neil as press censor, to bring it to me before passing it.

“As other reports had been brought for signature, Colonel Bengough asked Mr. M—— if he had sent any telegrams to the press; he prevaricated, but could not say positively that he had not sent messages to be wired to the *Times*. As sending telegrams that had not been *viséd* was contrary to his contract signed by himself, and opposed to the rules for reporters, I sent orders to Mr. M—— to leave Mandalay by the next steamer.

“The position was this. A small force consisting of two small brigades occupied the capital of a country as large as France; the head of the Government had been deported, the country was taken by surprise. I had reason to believe that Mr. M——’s letter tended to prejudice England and Lower Burma against the Tynedah Mengyi, who was the Minister set up by the British Authorities. If Lower Burma had given serious trouble at that time, and Upper Burma had elected to attack the force at Mandalay, and the detachments at Minhla, Pagan, and Myingyan, and to obstruct the stream of the Irrawaddy, the difficulties of Government and of the Expeditionary Force would have been greatly enhanced. The correspondent had been convicted of prevarication and exaggeration so one could not implicitly believe his statements, and hence the obvious course was to dismiss him before he could attempt more mischief.”

With the permission of the Secretary of State, Mr. M—— was allowed to return to Mandalay on 12th January, but I think it will be admitted by any unbiased person that General Prendergast was absolutely right in deporting him, and that the Secretary of State was not fair to the General in overruling him in the matter.

The natural result was that he became after his return ready and anxious to report unfavourably on General Prendergast’s acts, and to constantly make attacks on that officer, and to send in distorted accounts of what occurred. One of these incidents was the action of the Provost Marshal in photographing prisoners

when they were being executed. The following are Sir Harry Prendergast's notes on the case of the Provost Marshal :—

“As I have mentioned before there was a lamentable want of officers with the force. If an officer misbehaved I could not send him away and get another, so I had to make the best of him. When the photographic incident occurred, I administered a very severe reprimand at once to the Provost Marshal, and removed the possibility of a recurrence of such scenes by ordering that in future soldiers were not to be employed by the Civil Powers in carrying out sentences of death.

“It should be remembered that I did not select Colonel H——, it was someone else who chose an officer, photographic-mad, for my staff; but Colonel H—— worked with the greatest zeal; he not only did his own work, but also assisted the political officers. He had so much fighting that a young officer (now the famous Major Grant, V.C.) on joining at Mandalay begged to be allowed to join the Provost's Department, and he gave as a reason for wishing to serve under the Provost that that officer had more fighting than anyone else. A ponderous Court of Inquiry was held, but the result was a wiggling not nearly so severe as that administered by me at once. Colonel H—— is generous and kind-hearted beyond his fellows; on this one occasion his passion for photography led him beyond the limits of good taste.

“Lieut B——, his assistant, was pilloried, because he endeavoured to obtain evidence from a political prisoner by threatening to shoot him. I would remark that B—— was under fire pretty nearly every day, so his surroundings differed very considerably from those of ordinary police officers, and rough-and-ready means seemed more natural than they do to men in quiet countries. However, to prevent indiscretions, I forbade the officers of the Provost Department con-

ducting political inquiries. Everywhere we see the folly of statesmen being frightened by newspaper articles."

It is quite clear that Sir Harry Prendergast always took a calm and just view of what went on, and instead of being blamed for what occurred he should have been praised for everything that was done by him, as he was invariably just and generous, and keenly ready to defend those under his orders who only acted from perhaps too much zeal.

We must now draw attention to the strange facts connected with the official *History of the War in Burma*—which was calculated seemingly to minimize Sir Harry Prendergast's eminent services, and depreciate the deeds of his troops.

In a letter to a friend Sir Harry remarks, "My last Burman battle has been with the military authorities, who published confidentially an account of the expedition to Burma. This I heard of for the first time in autumn of 1890. As this account is in many respects untrue and depreciates the deeds of my troops, I have written in to protest, and sent a short account of the operations. This they offer to publish as an addendum to the preface. I accept this, but demand that all the untruths that have been said about my troops shall be cut out of the book—if they refuse, I shall hand up a good many things to the Government of India." It appears from this that the Quartermaster-General's Intelligence Department compiled an account of the war without referring to the General who commanded the expedition—nor did they inform him that they were about to prepare the book, and when the *History* was published in 1887 they failed to forward a copy to General Prendergast.

To show the extraordinary nature of their action I propose to insert the correspondence which Sir Harry Prendergast commenced in 1890, at the time he was Resident at Baroda. His first letter was to the

Quartermaster-General in India, dated 13th October 1890—.

“SIR,—I have the honour to send you a résumé of the operations of the Expeditionary Force, which is more accurate than the paragraphs on pages 32 to 39 of the *History of the Third Burman War, 1885–86 and 1887* (Period I.) issued from your office, and may be published. The compiler of the official record seems to have erroneously construed the instructions given to General Prendergast by the Viceroy ‘to avoid as far as possible all conflict with the population’ as equivalent to ‘avoid hostilities.’ In justice to the officers and men who took part in military operations, which were undertaken in exact accordance with the wishes of the Government of India, I venture to point out that hostilities were never avoided by the force. If a man offers to fight, and his opponent runs away or gives in, the former cannot justly be said to avoid hostilities. The force was always ready to fight.

“2. The Bluejackets were first engaged at Sim-baughweh, 18 miles above Thayatmyo, the British frontier station, on 14th November 1885, the day on which the Commander-in-Chief’s order to advance was received, and before any of the British troops had arrived at the frontier. On 16th November brigades landed on each side of the river to attack the enemy in their fortifications, but the Burmans evacuated the works. On 17th November brigades landed to attack Minhla, when there was a sharp skirmish, and Gwe-gyoun-Kamyó, a strong permanent fortification well supplied with men, artillery, and ammunition, was evacuated just as the assault was delivered by Foord’s brigade. On the 22nd November the batteries at Nyoungoo were deserted before the Naval Brigade landed.

“3. On the 24th November the Burman force near the river at Myingyan was pounded by all the guns, Howitzers, and machine guns of the Expeditionary

Force, commencing a little after four till sunset. The Burman reserves were out of range, and it was inadvisable to land infantry late in the afternoon, so the Burman Reserves retired towards Ava and Mandalay during the night, not waiting for the attack at 7 a.m. on the 25th that had been ordered.

“4. On 27th November the King’s surrender was brought by envoys, who, however, would not give up the armament of Ava; the King’s surrender might be only a ruse to get the British fleet, while we prepared for action, under the fire of Ava and Sagine forts, but it was quite certain that the troops could not reach Mandalay till a large opening had been made in the barrier of steamers, barges, etc., that had been placed across the river, so the officers of the royal navy were directed to make a channel through the obstruction.

“5. Detailed orders for the attack on Ava were issued to brigadiers early on the morning, and as soon as an opening had been made by the royal navy through the barrier, the British ships containing artillery were ordered by signal to prepare to engage the batteries, the vessels containing troops to land them. At this juncture, a message from the King was produced, ordering that the arms should be surrendered. General Norman’s brigade landed, and Burma soldiers marched past, laying down their arms, but all the arms were not received; however, 91 pieces of ordnance, 87 breech-loading rifles, 936 muskets, and a great number of swords and spears were collected.

“6. The project for the attack on Ava was drawn up on insufficient data, and was impracticable because the ground north and east was inundated. The British troops would actually have advanced over the narrow strip of dry ground on the river-bank east of Ava, they would have escaladed the town wall of Ava near its south-east angle, and have rushed the bridge on the west face of Ava fort, under a cross-fire from the east face of Ava and from Ava fort. If this manœuvre had been well-

carried out the Burmans might have been taught a severe lesson, as stated by the official historian; but, on the other hand, the loss inflicted on the British would certainly have been very heavy, and if the enemy had retreated they would have taken their arms with them. To have surrounded the forts of Ava would have been impossible, for on two sides of Ava are the rivers Myit-gue and Irrawaddy, and round the remaining parts there were inundations in November 1885.

“Early advance on Mandalay was most expedient, lest the King should retire northwards or execute the Europeans at Mandalay.

“7. Major-General Chapman, C.B., late Quarter-master-General in India, in his magazine article on the pacification of Upper Burma states, ‘that the King’s soldiers had, before the landing of the British soldiers was effected, rifled the Arsenal, and had dispersed broadcast throughout the country’; whereas the officer in charge of the Arsenal handed over to the Ordnance Department on the 8th December the following arms collected in and about the palace—

Flintlocks complete, about	.	2500
Common rifles of sorts	. .	3512
Martini-Henry rifles	. .	220
Spears	. . .	4000
Dhars	. . .	13,000
Bayonets	. . .	7300
Old pistols	. .	25
Fowling pieces of sorts	. .	40

and never heard that the Arsenal had been plundered.

“General Chapman attributes the subsequent unrest of Upper Burma to the soldiers who robbed the Arsenal; the official historian attributes it to the Burman soldiers who did not lay down their arms at Ava.

“For my own part I do not know that a Burman or Afghan regular soldier is a more formidable foe than any other Burman or Afghan.

"8. My present object is to protest against facts being distorted by the historian in such a way as to detract from the credit due to the force that I had the honour to command in Burma.

"The inaccuracy of the résumé of operations in the official *History* will be seen by comparing it with the official *Diary* compiled in your office, with the Assistant Adjutant-General's and Quartermaster-General's report of the Burma Expeditionary Force, 1885-86, with the dispatch of the General Officer commanding the Burma Field Force, dated 14th January 1886, published with the General Order of the Government of India, dated 14th May 1886, which describes the action of the Expeditionary Force from the commencement of operations till the occupation of Mandalay (it seems extraordinary that such a document has been omitted from official *Military History*), and with the return of the Ordnance Department showing the ordnance and arms taken in Burma.

"9. I would mention that there is no foundation for the statement made on page 41 that General Prendergast received orders to occupy Bhamo; the expedition was ordered by him, contrary to the wishes of the Chief Commissioner, who, however, withdrew his opposition before it sailed for Bhamo. The venture was, I would submit, as daring as it was successful, and the troops engaged in it were entitled to credit.

"Colonel (now Sir James) Johnstone's fine feat of arms in marching without orders from Manipur to capture Kendat would seem worthy of more attention than is given to it on page 51 of the *History of the Third Burman War*—Period I.—"I have, etc.

(Signed) "H. N. D. PRENDERGAST, General R.E.

"late Commanding Forces in Burma."

General Prendergast did not receive a reply for more than three months, and then got the following, dated 21st January 1891 :—

"SIR,—With reference to your communication, dated Baroda the 13th October 1890, I have the honour to forward the accompanying proof of a proposed addendum to the *History of the Third Burmese War*, and to inquire whether the publication of the résumé in this form meets with your approval.—I have, etc.,

(Signed) "L. J. HOWELL, Captain,
"for Quartermaster-General in India."

General Prendergast replied to this somewhat curt letter as follows :—

"In reply to your letter No. 187, dated 21st January 1891, I have the honour to accept your offer to publish the short résumé of operations in Burma from November 1885 to March 1886 sent to you with my letter, dated 13th October 1890, of which I return the proof sheet, and I trust that you will concur with me in the opinion that the statements made on pages 38 and 39 and the last para. of 41 should be expunged from the *History of the Third Burmese War*—Period I.

"Will you do me the favour to substitute the following for the first part of para. 6 of my letter, dated 13th October 1890.¹—I have, etc.,

(Signed) "H. N. D. PRENDERGAST, General."

This letter was written on 30th January 1891, and as apparently no reply was received from the Quartermaster-General, Sir Harry Prendergast wrote, on 2nd March 1892, the following letter to the Secretary to the Government of India Foreign Department :—

"No. 701-2—609-7, dated 2nd March 1892.

"FROM GENERAL SIR HARRY PRENDERGAST, K.C.B., V.C.,
R.E., RESIDENT IN MYSORE, TO THE SECRETARY TO

¹ The original letter has been altered as requested by General Prendergast.

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, FOREIGN DEPARTMENT
(MILITARY).

"SIR,—I have the honour to submit for the consideration of the Government of India the following remarks :—

"I had the honour to command the Burmese Expeditionary Force in 1885-86, and afterwards the forces in Burma till the 31st March 1886. I therefore take a special interest in the *Third Burmese War*. On reading the preface, I learnt that the official *History* was compiled in accordance with your letter to Quartermaster-General, No. 6888 B, dated Simla, 8th July 1886, and that it is divided into three Periods, of which Period I. is the history of the war to 1st April 1886. The preface is signed H. E. Stanton, Lieutenant, Royal Artillery, and dated 24th November 1887, and it was apparently printed in 1887. I was not consulted during the preparation of the work; by a mere chance I heard of the existence of this *History* in 1890, and, on application, a copy was given to me. When I pointed out some errors in the *History*, the Quartermaster-General in India kindly offered to publish my remarks (hereto subjoined) as an addendum to the preface of the *History*, but this occurred three years after the *History* had been printed, and therefore long after interest in the subject had abated.

"2. I am concerned only with the operations undertaken by the troops under my command. The compiler commences his history of them on the thirty-seventh page of Period I. by saying that the expedition crossed the frontier on the 17th November 1885, whereas my dispatch of 14th January 1886 shows that the *Irrawaddy* and *Kathleen* were in action 28 miles above Thayatmyo on the 14th November, and that, on 16th November, brigades were landed to attack the Burmese position at Shing-boung-weh and Nyoung-bin-maw.

"3. He next gives the order of the fleet 'which was maintained throughout the advance.' This state-

ment is incorrect. The order is correctly given in my dispatch of the 14th January 1886, in which the reason is stated for the formation that was adopted as regards some of the steamers. It would have been a folly to arrange the vessels as they are shown on page 37 of this history.

"4. On page 38 a résumé of operations is given, from which the capture of Gwe-gyoun-Kamyo is altogether omitted. Gwe-gyoun-Kamyo was a most important redoubt, designed and built by an Italian officer; it had a command of 250 feet over the river, and was provided with a broad, deep ditch having masonry scarp and counterscarp. Two lines of guns bore on the reach of the river towards Mallow, and another battery was constructed to fire westwards towards Minhla. The redoubt was furnished with casemated barracks and magazines; there were 21 guns, and ordnance stores, and a garrison of 1700 men. I had carefully reconnoitred the fort in 1883, and was therefore able so to conduct the troops to the assault that the place was taken almost without a casualty. Surely the taking of one of the strongest and best-fortified places in all Burma should not be omitted because it was attacked with skill, prudence, and immunity from loss.

"5. The next paragraph relates to the attack on Myingyan. 'On the evening of the 24th November, when the fleet arrived at Myingyan, and the heavy guns were engaged with the Burmese batteries on the shore, a force of Burmese under the Hle-thin-Atwin-woon (Admiral of the Fleet) was collected in sight of the ships some 1500 yards from the shore. It was not molested during the attack, and melted away during the night.' And lower down it is stated 'that we avoided hostilities with the considerable force opposed to us at Myingyan.'

"The flotilla had been delayed by operations at Kounyuwa on the morning of the 24th, and therefore did not reach Myingyan till late in the afternoon. If

the enemy's infantry had been concentrated at 1500 yards from the shore it would have been shelled, but the high ground where it was drawn up was, as stated in my dispatch of 14th January 1886, about 3 miles from the river, therefore beyond artillery range and too far from the shore for a successful attack to be made before dark by infantry; but, as regards avoiding hostilities, every gun in the flotilla was in action till sunset. Orders to land and attack the enemy's positions on the morrow were issued on the 24th, but were not carried out as the enemy had retreated before daylight on the 25th.

"6. The next six paragraphs are devoted to criticisms of the operations at Ava; in the last of these paragraphs the date of the occupation of Mandalay is stated to be 28th November 1887 instead of 1885. The orders for the guidance of the officers commanding the Burmese Expeditionary Force were issued by Lord Dufferin, most astute of diplomatists, supplemented by the military instructions of Sir Donald Stewart, most reserved of generals, and both the Viceroy and Commander-in-Chief expressed their satisfaction with the way in which affairs were carried on.

"7. On the night of the 26th an ultimatum was dispatched to the King offering him his life and respect for his family if he would surrender himself, his army, and his capital, and if the European residents in Mandalay should be found uninjured in person and in property. Such a message, Colonel Sladen—a political officer, who had lived for years in Mandalay—stated would very likely result in the murder of the Europeans in Mandalay, and the preparation for flight by Thebaw and his family. So it was highly important to reach Mandalay as soon as possible.

"8. At daybreak of the 27th November 1885 the British Force lay some miles below Ava; the troops were crowded on the decks of river steamers and barges, which were built so as to draw a minimum depth of

water, and were so frail as to afford little or no protection against projectiles of any kind : hence it may be inferred that troops crowded in such craft under fire of even the lightest artillery or rifles would suffer terribly.

“9. The position of Ava-Sagain is a strong one. On the right bank the fleet would have to engage in succession the Sagain redoubt, the fortified town of Sagain, and several batteries lately erected to command the river ; on the left bank, first the Ava redoubt, then the fortified town of Ava, and eventually the Thabyadan redoubt which is constructed in the angle between the rivers Irrawaddy and Myitgue at their confluence just above Ava ; the three redoubts are of European construction. A great shoal bars the river just below Sagain and Ava, and the deep channel so runs that when the water is low a steamer attempting to ascend the river has to approach Ava Fort, then turn so as to be raked—first by the artillery of Ava Fort, and then by that of Sagain Fort—before entering the fairway through the shoal.

“10. On approaching Ava on 27th November it was evident that the barrier had been completed by sinking boats and steamers from bank to bank of the Irrawaddy along the line of shoal, so that vessels could neither take station to engage the enemy nor pass the enemy's fort. It was the case also that the country round the redoubts and fortified towns was inundated.

“11. On the night of the 27th November ‘the King had conceded unconditionally to all the demands made by the Commander of the English Forces,’ the British fleet was lying off Ava, several vessels were above the barrier, and were at liberty to advance on Mandalay, and the other ships were free to follow them. Three strong redoubts, two large walled cities, and nearly 100 pieces of ordnance had been surrendered. Burman troops had filed past the British regiments landed to disarm them ; many rifles, fowling-pieces, spears, and

swords had been surrendered; some were destroyed, but there remained with the British 546 muzzle-loaders, and 87 breech-loaders taken at Ava, 390 muskets at Sagain, also heaps of swords and spears at Ava, Sagain, and Thabyadan.

“12. The Burmans who surrendered and gave up their arms were set at liberty. What else could be done? There was neither room nor food for them on board ship, and the force could not be divided for the sake of guarding prisoners on the shore, when there was a prospect of Thebaw determining to fight at Mandalay next day. It was impossible to shoot down men that had not fought, so there was no alternative but to let them go unhurt. The Burmans who would have fought at Ava if Thebaw had given the order were after the 27th November merged in the Civil Population.

“13. There was no attempt to avoid conflict at Ava, but every effort was made to achieve success; when the envoys made excuses for delaying to surrender the guns, the opportunity was seized to reconnoitre in broad daylight, unmolested by the fire of the enemy, the river and barrier across it. As soon as a channel through the barrier was reported fit for the passage of transports, the envoys were informed that sufficient time had been given for a reply, and the order to prepare to engage was signalled to the fleet. In ten minutes orders from Mandalay to surrender the guns were received, and troops at once landed to take over the guns and arms of the infantry.

“14. It would have been impossible with 10,000 men to invest Ava, surrounded as it was by inundation; Ava redoubt and Ava town might have been taken by assault, but the British troops would have suffered heavily if the garrison had fought with any determination, and the Burmans who retired—which they could have done from Ava under cover—would certainly have taken their arms with them for future use. It would have

been far more difficult to clear the channel through the barricade if the survey launches had been under fire of Ava and Sagain redoubts when trying to find and clear it. The British losses of men and ships might have been very severe, the Burman loss would not have been great, and valuable time would have been wasted.

“15. The historian says, ‘Had troops been landed in any case, and operations been undertaken against these forts to ensure the surrender being made complete, General Prendergast would have exceeded his instructions’; but there was nothing whatever in the instructions to prevent General Prendergast from attacking any place he pleased on the Irrawaddy.

“16. The historian says, ‘On the only occasions when any considerable force was opposed to us, viz. at Myingyan and Ava, under instructions, we avoided hostilities.’ As a matter of fact, every gun in the fleet was in action at Myingyan from about 4 p.m. till sunset, and orders for the attack on Ava were issued, but it was unnecessary to carry them out. The *Palow*, on which my pennant was flying from 10 a.m. till 3 or 4 p.m. on the 27th November 1885, lay immediately opposite Ava redoubt. The guns were during all that time ready and laid for action, and the guns’ crew were standing at attention all the time, prepared to fire into Ava redoubt.

“17. In the next paragraph the historian stated that the Burmese loss could not have exceeded 250 all told. Whereas in my dispatch dated 14th January 1886, it is asserted that on the 17th November at Minhla alone 276 Burmans were taken prisoners, 170 were killed, and 40 were wounded¹; by subsequent inquiry I found that 170 were buried by orders of the Provost, but I saw many of the garrison dash out of Minhla redoubt and take to the river, in which they were shot and drowned. The 40 wounded were all in hospital. I was careful not

¹ Treated in British hospital ship.

to overrate the success, but, according to a not unusual way of computing, the enemy's loss would be—

Killed and buried	170
Killed in the river at least	30
Wounded = $3 \times$ number killed = 3×200	600
Prisoners	276
	<hr/>
Total loss of enemy	1076

“18. The historian resumes the narrative on page 41 thus: ‘At this period, except for the order to occupy Bhamo, General Prendergast had no definite instructions for active operations.’ Now, General Prendergast never received any orders to occupy Bhamo.

“19. When the expedition to Bhamo was projected, the Government of India had issued no orders on the subject. The Chief Commissioner was opposed to it, China had prepared troops to prevent any such occupation of Bhamo, the country north of Mandalay was reported to be in a state of anarchy, the navigation of the river was known to be very difficult, and some said that Bhamo was actually held by the Chinese. The Commander of the Burman Expeditionary Force, on 6th December, ordered 1000 men and a few guns from the two brigades that occupied Mandalay to proceed 250 miles up the Irrawaddy to secure the important fort at Bhamo on his own responsibility. This was only a week after Mandalay had been occupied, and when the strength of the resistance to British arms in Upper Burma and the effect of the war on Lower Burma could scarcely be calculated or conjectured. The risk was considerable, and the officers and men deserve credit that I did not at the time publicly claim for them, on account of the tension then existing between the Courts of St. James and Peking.

“20. It is a curious fact that though the history of the Burmese War extends over six large volumes, my dispatch

of 14th January 1886, giving a concise, and, I believe, substantially true, account of the operations which resulted in the capture of Mandalay and overthrow of Thebaw, and the annexation of Upper Burma has been altogether omitted. Without looking further into the *History of the Third Burmese War*, I think that sufficient inaccuracies have been pointed out, and I would add that the author might have obtained a thorough knowledge of his subject, and have avoided many of the errors in his book, if he had consulted me during its preparation. Many mistakes seem to be due to ignoring my dispatches.

“ 21. I would submit that, if the compiler is imperfectly acquainted with his subject and does not take reasonable pains to get the best information procurable, a General may be placed in a false position by the issue confidentially of a history of his campaign published by authority behind his back.

“ 22. I would respectfully submit for the consideration of the Governor-General in India in Council whether a General who has commanded troops in the field should be liable to have his own actions, and those of his forces prejudiced, without opportunity to defend himself and them in the eyes of the authorities, and of future students of history, or orders should be issued with a view to securing the truth and accuracy of secret history issued under the confidential cover of the Government Printing Press.—I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient servant,

“ H. N. D. PRENDERGAST, Resident.”

RÉSUMÉ OF OPERATIONS IN UPPER BURMA FROM NOVEMBER 1885 TO MARCH 1886

“ On 14th November 1885 orders were received at Thayatmyo from His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to commence operations. On that day the armed steamers *Irrawaddy* and *Kathleen* engaged the Burman

Batteries near Nyoung-ben-maw, and brought away, after a smart skirmish, the King's steamer and barges that would otherwise have been employed to block the river opposite the batteries.

"2. On 16th November a brigade was landed to take the Nyoung-ben-maw batteries, and a brigade was landed on the left bank to attack the stockade of Shing-boung-Weh; on both sides of the river the enemy retired before the British Infantry could get at them, but their guns were taken and their fortifications were destroyed.

"3. On 17th November a brigade of Native Infantry was detached to attack the Wondouk's Palace and a redoubt at Minhla, while the remainder of the force present was marched 8 miles round from Patanago to assault the east front of the strong redoubt of Gwe-gyoun-Kamyo, and the *Irrawaddy* and *Kathleen* bombarded the enemy's redoubts and batteries. On the right bank the Burmans successively held a barricade, the Pagoda, the palace and the redoubt of Minhla, and were defeated with a loss of 170 killed (whom we buried), 276 prisoners; scores were drowned and shot in the Irrawaddy River when trying to escape, many killed and wounded must have been carried off the field, and 15 pieces of ordnance were taken.

"4. Gwe-gyoun-Kamyo was a very strong redoubt, designed and built by the Italian, Barbieri; it had a command of 250 feet over the river, and was provided with a broad, deep ditch having masonry scarp and counterscarp. Two tiers of guns bore on the reach of the river towards Malloyn, and another battery was constructed to fire westwards towards Minhla; the east front was weaker and was commanded by high ground to the east of it. From the gorge wall on the north the ground fell precipitously. The redoubt was furnished with casemated barracks and magazines, and was in good order; there were 21 guns and stores of ordnance and a garrison of 1700 men. The project for

attack prepared by Major-General Prendergast in 1883 was carried out under his own eye with the most complete success. Our troops landed three hours' march from Gwe-gyoun-Kamyo and made for its east front; the enemy was surprised and panic stricken, and the frontier defence, on which Thebaw set his trust, passed from him for ever without loss on the British side.

"5. On the 22nd November an enemy's battery at Nyoungoo was bombarded by our artillery, and 11 guns were captured. On 24th troops were landed to drive the Burmans from batteries that commanded the river near Pakoko and to take possession of their armament. On this account the fleet did not arrive till late in the afternoon at the Myingyan anchorage. At 4 p.m. the *Palow*, leading the Naval Brigade, was fired into from a battery within half a mile of Myingyan, then all the artillery afloat engaged the several batteries on shore, and heavy fire of artillery and musketry was kept up till sunset against the batteries and troops of the bank of the river, the enemy standing to their guns and entrenchments bravely. The enemy's reserve was on rising ground about three miles from the river, so it was impossible to reach them with artillery, and it would have been unwise to attack them with infantry over unknown ground so late in the day. Orders to land at 7 a.m. on the morrow were issued, but the enemy retired during the night, leaving 21 guns in the batteries.

"6. On the 26th November envoys arrived to treat for peace. The terms proposed by the British were, that Thebaw should surrender himself, his army, and his capital to the British; and the General promised, if the European residents at Mandalay were found uninjured in person and in property, that he would spare the King's life, and would respect his family.

"7. On the 27th November, before the fleet had reached Ava, the envoys again appeared, bearing the King's surrender and an order that the Burman troops were not to fire on the British; but on hearing the

demand that the armament of the forts should be given up, the envoy declared that owing to the high rank of the officer commanding at Ava, it would be necessary to obtain orders for this from Mandalay. The excuse was allowed, so that the survey officers might proceed, free from fire, to reconnoitre the barrier placed across the river by the Burmans. When they had prepared a channel through the obstacle, and placed buoys to indicate it to the fleet, the arms were again demanded, and the British vessels took station, some for landing troops, and others for engaging the batteries, according to orders that had been issued in the morning. Before the commencement of hostilities, however, the order from Mandalay arrived, approving of the disarmament. Troops at once landed, and many rifles, fowling-pieces, spears, and swords were laid down; 546 muzzle-loaders and 87 breech-loaders at Ava, 390 muskets at Sagain Fort, also heaps of swords and spears at Ava, Sagain, and Thabyadan, not to mention the 90 pieces of ordnance that were in batteries commanding the river, and the two great walled cities and three forts of scientific European construction, that were in the power of the British troops.

“8. It would have been impossible to invest the enemy's force, for the Irrawaddy was blocked, and Ava, Sagain Fort, and Thabyadan were protected by inundations. If it had been determined to take Ava and Ava Fort by *coup de main*, the assaulting columns, restricted to a narrow strip of dry land, would have advanced on a very narrow front, over ground swept by a cross fire from Ava walls and Ava redoubt. If the enemy had stood, as they did at Minhla and Myingyan, our losses would have been heavy, the advance on Mandalay would have been delayed, and all the Europeans at Mandalay might have been destroyed by the King of Burma.

“9. On the 28th November Thebaw was a prisoner, on the 29th Thebaw was deported from Mandalay, and Mandalay was occupied; thus the programme of the Government of India was complete, and the officer

commanding the expedition had no further orders, the dynasty of Alompra was overturned, and the designs of France were frustrated.

“ 10. It was known that China was massing troops on her frontier, so the Major-General first seized Shwebo, a town of great political importance, and then on the 18th December himself embarked with a thousand men and armament for Bhamo, which was reported to be occupied by the Chinese force. The distance from Mandalay to Bhamo by river is 250 miles, and the navigation is very difficult; the country on both banks of the Irrawaddy was said to be in a state of anarchy; the vessels employed for this expedition were such as drew less than 2½ feet of water.

“ On the 28th December Bhamo was occupied, and the ambitious projects of China were quashed. This expedition was ordered on the sole responsibility of the General commanding; but the objections of the Chief Commissioner to it were withdrawn on the 17th, and he then approved of it.

“ 11. There was a cessation of hostilities during the Viceroy's visit in February 1886, but in March the Burmans were reported to be in great strength north of Yemethen, so the Lieutenant-General commanding the forces in Burma, taking reinforcements to Ningyan and Yemethen from Tounghoo, directed the detachments from Yemethen, Toungdwengyi, and Myingyan to co-operate against the Burma force, which they did with perfect success; so that on the 31st March the military occupation of Burma was secured, Mandalay, the capital, was strongly held, and there was a cordon of posts round it; there were posts at convenient distances along the Irrawaddy from Thayatmyo to Bhamo, at Alon on the Chindwin, and from the railway terminus at Tounghoo to Myingyan and Mandalay. All the strong forts of Thebaw were in possession of the British, also his warships, his arsenal, his rifle factory, his transport animals, 1861 pieces of ordnance, more

than 7295 rifles and muskets, and 37,000 spears and swords; his army was disorganized and demoralized, and his country was strategically held by the British.

“H. N. D. PRENDERGAST, General, R.E.

BARODA,

The 13th October 1890.”

On the 27th March 1892 Sir Harry Prendergast wrote the following letter to General H. Brackenbury, who was at this time Military Member of the Council in India, and had formerly been at the head of the Intelligence Department. By this time Sir Harry Prendergast was Resident of Mysore.

“BANGALORE, 27th March 1892.

“DEAR GENERAL BRACKENBURY,—May I ask the favour of your perusal of the enclosed letter to the Secretary to the Government of India Military Department, and will you kindly refer to Burma Blue Book No. 3 of 1886, page 50, a Military Dispatch WO 103 A of 1886, dated 16th July 1886, to the Secretary of State. The dispatch may be true, but would any one guess from reading it that I had commanded the troops in Burma from the outset of the expedition till 31st March 1886 or that the orders issued by the Commander-in-Chief were written at Mandalay in February 1886, after nearly all the places mentioned in para. 4 had been occupied by the troops under my command, or that para. 5 describes the system initiated and carried out by me personally, for I went to all the posts mentioned in that para. and to Bhamo also to superintend the operations! My reputation and that of the forces in Burma doubtless suffered in the estimation of the Secretary of State from the delay in sending home my diaries (on 1st July 1886 he complained that the latest report was my diary dated 31st January 1886), for the Press abused me finely all this time. In Burma Blue Book No. 3 of 1886, No. 41, page 47. The official *History of the Third Burmese War* was a severe shock to me.

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“As I was removed from the command of the forces in Burma on 31st March 1886 on promotion, very soon after the annexation of Upper Burma, everything that tended to discredit me and the troops under my command was especially annoying. If you can do anything to prevent officers from compiling confidential military histories inaccurately, you will confer a favour on soldiers of all ranks, on students of history, and on yours sincerely,

(Signed) “H. N. D. PRENDERGAST.”

To this General Brackenbury replied on 4th April 1892 from Saharanpore.

“DEAR SIR HARRY PRENDERGAST,—Your letter of 27th March and its enclosure has just reached me here. I will look into the matter referred to on arrival at Simla, and will write you again. All I can say now is this—While I was head of the Intelligence Department at home that Department brought out the official histories of two wars. In both cases the name of the author of the *History* was given, but each was personally edited by myself, and in a preface to each, I, as head of the Department, personally accepted the full responsibility for the work. In both cases everything relating to the conduct of operations by any officer in command was referred to that officer for his remarks before publication, and their remarks were carefully weighed by myself personally. I think a similar method of procedure should be adopted in India.—Very truly yours,

(Signed) “H. BRACKENBURY.”

On the 10th July 1892, after his return to England (he left India in April 1892), he replied to the above letter.

“DORNDEN, HURST, BERKS, 10th July 1892.

“DEAR GENERAL BRACKENBURY,—Many thanks for your note describing your procedure when writing the

history of a campaign. I forwarded a copy of a letter from the Quartermaster-General in India, from which it appears that he does not propose promptly to write for the information of Government a true and accredited story of the Burman War from November 1885 to April 1886 while the facts are remembered by the officers employed, but promises that should future editions be published, the inaccuracies of the official *History* will be revised.

"It is satisfactory, however, to learn that 'Lord Roberts has ordered that in future, when the official history of a campaign is being prepared, the proofs are to be sent to all officers who held important commands.'

"I am much obliged to you for your attention to a very important subject.—Yours sincerely,

(Signed) "H. N. D. PRENDERGAST."

On the 23rd June 1892 a letter was written by the Secretary to the Government of India in the Military Department to General Sir H. N. D. Prendergast, K.C.B., V.C., R.E., dated Simla.

"SIR,—I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 701-2—609-7, dated 2nd March 1892, bringing to notice certain inaccuracies in the *History of the Third Burmese War*, compiled by the Intelligence Branch of the Quartermaster-General's Department in India.

"2. In reply I am to say that a memorandum pointing out the inaccuracies brought to notice has been prefixed to the *History*, as an addendum to the preface, and copies of this addendum have been sent to every officer to whom copies of the work were issued. In any fresh edition of this *History* that may hereafter be issued, the text of the work will be carefully revised with a view to the exclusion of errors.

"3. I am to add that in future, when the official history of a campaign is being prepared, proofs

will be sent to all officers who held important commands, in order that the greatest possible accuracy may be secured.

“ I am, sir, your most obedient servant,

(Signed) “ E. COLLEN,

Secretary to the Government of India.”

[Copy to the Quartermaster-General in India.]

Having undertaken to compile a life of the late General Sir Harry Prendergast, I wrote to the India office for a copy of the official *History of the Third Burmese War*, and on the 8th October 1913 I had an interview with the Military Secretary, and after some discussion he agreed to send me the military part, but would remove the political portion, which was still considered confidential (in spite of the lapse of twenty-eight years since the capture of Mandalay and Bhamo by Sir Harry Prendergast), and a few days after I received the papers promised.

Some further correspondence took place, and I found to my amazement that in spite of Sir Harry Prendergast's protests and the many letters which had been written on the subject, no care had been taken to correct the official *History*, and that, in point of fact, the official *History* (after twenty-six years had elapsed since it was written) was still identically the same. I then, on 8th November 1913, wrote to the Military Secretary that “ I was surprised to learn that General Prendergast's dispatch of 14th January 1886 was not, after his protest, added to the official account of the war, and that the addendum which was published for the purpose of being entered as an addition to the preface was not so added. In point of fact, as far as I can learn, no attempt seems to have been made to correct the errors in the official account, although General Prendergast wrote a long letter, objecting to the official account as erroneous and highly injurious to himself and the army he commanded ; and practically

the official account is the same that it was in 1887, in spite of Sir Harry Prendergast's remonstrances.

I wrote to the Military Secretary as follows :

"I think the official account should be corrected in the light of General Prendergast's letter. As you have apparently not got a copy of this letter dated Baroda Residency in 1890, I shall be happy to furnish you with one, if you desire to rectify the many errors in the official account published in 1887."

To this letter I received the following reply :—

"In reply to your letter of 8th November I am directed to inform you that the *History of the Third Burmese War* was issued in 1887, and so far as is known at this office no reprint has been issued since. Consequently no opportunity has occurred of incorporating in it the addendum to the preface of Period I., which was issued in 1891, nor any other alterations. I am to add that one copy of the addendum is in the possession of this office, though there are no copies available for distribution."

It seems clear from this that the authorities are content to allow the incorrect account of the Third Burmese War to remain on record as a true history, in spite of Sir Harry Prendergast's statement that it was "erroneous and highly injurious to himself and the army he had the honour to command." Under these circumstances I can only hope that the public and future historians will avoid consulting the official *History*, and if they require truth to read this book, which contains a truthful account of the military operations.

In common justice to Sir Harry Prendergast and the forces he commanded and to the public, a new edition should be at once revised and published in the light of Sir Harry's strictures, and with it should be incorporated Sir Harry Prendergast's dispatch of 13th January 1886. The addendum which he sent in, as also his account of the expedition to Bhamo (which was undertaken on his own initiative and responsibility,

and was under the circumstances a very bold movement, excellently carried out with great advantage to the Empire), should both be added to the record.

Considering how important it was to have this matter cleared up, it was essential to enter into the subject at considerable length—so that there might be no mistake in future as to the merits of Sir Harry Prendergast and his army, who added to the Empire a territory even larger than France, and full of valuable commodities. Rubber, teak, petroleum,¹ coal, and iron, etc., not to speak of rubies, jade, and gold, rice, cotton, and tobacco.

Before leaving this matter it will be as well to publish extracts from a letter from the Viceroy relating to this subject, written on 9th February 1887, at the very time when the official history was being compiled—"The one fact which history will record, and the only fact which I am sure at this moment remains present in the minds of your countrymen, is that in the course of a fortnight you conquered a kingdom and overthrew a dynasty, and this in consequence of the vigour, the celerity, and the judicious character of your operations. It is true that for a time the splendour of this achievement has been a little confused and dimmed by petty controversies and insignificant incidents, but in another six months all this will be forgotten. Nor, I am sure, is it in the mind of any one, whether here or at the War Office, or at the India Office, to imagine that the results arrived at were obtained otherwise than through your own initiative. No human being will ever give a thought to what were the instructions you received, or at what date they were written, for it is quite obvious that it was only the commander on the spot who could really know what procedure to follow. We said to you, 'Go and take Thebaw and occupy Mandalay,' and you

¹ During the last two years, from 1912-14, the production of petroleum in Burma has more than doubled, having increased from 116 to 240 millions of gallons.

did both with scarcely the loss of a man. In comparison with this indisputable and patent fact, the shades of expression used by an Adjutant-General, and buried in blue books, are of absolutely no significance. Moreover, I am sure the Government of India has on all occasions borne testimony to its satisfaction with your entire conduct, and with this imprimatur, justified by the universal verdict of all Englishmen, you may be very well content."

We will now add three appreciations of the character of Sir Harry Prendergast in connection with Burma which will serve to show his nobility of character and how he ever thought kindly of those brought into contact with him.

The first is a commentary by a French paper regarding his action in regard to Colonel Sladen, who did fine work during the campaign, although on several occasions he acted in contravention of Sir Harry's power as chief political officer.

"Le 12 Janvier Lord Dufferin Vice-roi des Indes transmit a Lord Rodolf Churchill un rapport du Colonel Sladen.

"En vous transmettant le rapport des évènements du 25 au 29 Décembre, dit le Général, 'il me serait agréable que vous fussiez l'interprète de l'admiration qui m'inspire la conduite de Colonel Sladen. Il a mérité une distinction spéciale en faisant preuve d'un rare courage. C'est grâce a lui que Thebaw a été pris sans résistance et sans tentative de fuite.

"Quelle leçon ! Nous savons qu'il y avait parfois divergence d'opinion entre Sladen et Prendergast. Mais ce n'étaient que des jétées de paille emportées par la souffle puissante de la Patrie. Divisés mais sondes, ces deux. Esprits ne voient que l'intérêt de l'Angleterre dont le drapeau n'est jamais masqué par les petits pavillons de l'amour propre et de jalousies. Pouvons-nous en dire autant ? Qui, quelle leçon : il ne se croit pas diminué ce Général en Chef, seul re-

sponsable, seul armé de tous les pouvoirs, seul correspondant du pouvoir central en rendant justice à son collaborateur. Pas la moindre jalousie, pas d'absorption de gloire. Sladen est l'agent politique, peu importe au vieux soldat.

“Sladen a contribué pour une grande part au succès, et devant le fait accompli ; devant Thebaw aux pieds de la Reine, devant Ava Mandalay, déarmés comme par enchantement, et livrés sans brûler une cartouche—sans une geste, sans un mot, Prendergast ne voit plus que l'Angleterre. Voici pourquoi il n'éprouve aucune hésitation à dire : Voici Sladen, c'est lui qui a tout fait, récompensez-le. Quand il nous faudra, demain peut-être, ce qu' Dieu ne plaise, défendre au loin nos intérêts et notre honneur, oublions qu'au Tonkin nous n'avons pas toujours été français, et pensons au Général Prendergast qui n'a pas eu une seconde de défaillance, et qui n'a cessé d'être Anglais.

“L'Angleterre a eu son Dupleix dans Clive, l'imitateur de notre grand patriote. Mais Clive n'a pas eu son Labordonnais, le plus dangereux des révoltés, et le plus coupable des jaloux. Les responsabilités de cet homme sont aussi grandes que son courage et son génie. C'est dans cette fusion indispensable des Esprits, et des Cœurs qui disparaîtront à l'heure de danger les petites ambitions personnelles qui égarent les plus grands esprits, paralysent les patriotes, et leur font découvrir dans le drapeau de la France celui de leur vanité, et de leurs coupables et dangereuses passions. Il faut imiter Prendergast sous peine de préparer un autre mais dernier Sedan, un suprême Langson parlementaire.

“Car le dèroute n'était pas en Chine, mais à la Chambre des Deputés. C'est là, et là seul que la Chine a eu son unique succès, que nous avons payé bien cher. Car quels ne serment pas nos avantages si malgré les divisions funestes pour nos soldats. Je ne parle pas de nos finances on avait que garder le sang froid jusqu' à la fin. Il n'y avait plus que quelques

pas à faire, et le Marquis de Iseng eut enfin télégraphié C'est inutile, il faut céder, et avoir la France avec nous, et non pas contre nous. Laissons ce page d'histoire un peu dans l'obscurité. Elle est trop triste nos enfants la liront.

"Leur jugement ne sera jamais assez sévère. Mais encore une fois, sans ce parlementaire providentiel arrive au moment Psychologique le Colonel Sladen malgré son courage, et la connaissance de la Birmanie et des Birmans eut-il pu désarmer Ava sans tirer un coup de canon, et offrir Prendergast le sceptre des Allompra sans verser une goutte de sang ?

"Comment eut-il trouver l'occasion de s'entendre avec le Kin-Woon Minghyi ; et empêcher la fuite du Roi, et le massacre des Européens ?

"Comment eut-il pu exercer les qualités auxquelles rend hommage le Général ?

"Et Prendergast ne se sentira pas diminué en avouant que sans le parlementaire il eut été obligé de lancer ses meilleurs et rares Cavaliers à la poursuite d'un Roi trop lâche pour chercher la mort comme Théodore à la tête de ses troupes, ou de faire de Mandalay un autre Moscou en flammes !"

The following was written in the *Saturday Review*, as an illustration of a trait that Sir Harry Prendergast had strongly :—¹

"It was at Mandalay. The General's Headquarter Staff and the Brigade Staffs lived in the palace. They had their mess in a Council Chamber walled with panels covered with leaf gold. It was but a hastily organised mess, where each officer had his own servant and his knives and forks. No mess dress was worn, only khaki uniform.

"There were thirty or forty officers dining there at one long table, and one night the mess was full but for three places. They were at the end, and stood vacant till the soup was gone. Then shyly and uncertainly a stranger,

¹ Extracted by permission of the Editor of *Saturday Review*. It was written by Mr. Fielding Hall.

a young man quite unknown, not even a soldier, came in quietly, and took one empty chair. He knew no one there except the General whom he had seen that morning on duty.

"For he was come down the day before from a far frontier as a guest with Colonel (afterwards General Sir W. Penn) Symons.¹ He had lost his soup through waiting for his host, and only hunger drove him in. He had no one to order him a drink, he had no one to talk to. He ate in silence and in solitude.

"Then from the opposite side far down, there came a voice to him: 'Why are you all alone? What has become of Symons or of Stevens?' 'I don't know, sir,' he answered to the General. 'They went this afternoon down to the shore, and they are not returned.'

"There was a movement on the far side. A many-medalled officer got up and made a vacant place next to the General. The young civilian was called across there and installed. He was well looked after. He got all he wished to eat and drink. The general talked to him and the staff. They made him feel at home with friends, and when Symons returned he said with a laugh, 'Don't move—I see you are in clover. I was afraid for you. I need not have been.' Kindness arises from many motives. It may come from relationship, from old companionship, from fellowship in same service. It is always good. But the kindness that has no mixture, that is pure courtesy of heart, that comes from one above to one far down below—that is not common. Neither is it forgotten!"

The following in the same article justly describes Sir Harry. "For one thing there was courage, not physical alone, but moral that was never afraid to look truth in the face whatever that truth might be. That is a wonderful gift to be able to stand straight up, and look at life with steadfastness and courage. Never to ignore, never to pretend, never to say or think that a

¹ Mortally wounded at Battle of Glencoe, 20th Oct., 1899, in S. African War.

truth can be ignoble, whatever that truth may be. There was humanity that recognises how all men are akin, not by their virtues but by their failings—it is men's weaknesses and faults that bind them closer, not their strength. There was good humour. There was transparent honesty that did not palter with a word or phrase, that chooses carefully that what it says should have but one meaning, and that the true one. There was that greatness which was ready to acknowledge a mistake, and glad to acknowledge it—that strong pride which will not continue in a fault it recognises. This is the man who leavens nations. What struck you most in him was the greatness of his soul. It was larger than those of other men, and held in it more of humanity."

The third tribute to his character is from the Rev. John E. Marks, D.D., who was a missionary of the S.P.G. in Burma. He remarks: "We were very intimate both when he was in command and when he led the Expedition against my naughty pupil, King Thebaw. Sir Harry's character was a noble one. I *loved* him more than I did any other such officer. So did his subalterns and his men. My cadets of all nationalities fairly worshipped him. His geniality, courtesy, thoughtfulness for others, and yet his firmness and decision won all who came into connection with him. R.I.P.

Sincerely yours,
(Signed) "JOHN E. MARKS."

Before leaving the subject of the 3rd Burmese War it will be well to show the very high value of the services performed by Sir Harry Prendergast, to give a eulogistic extract from the *Englishman*, written after the publication of his dispatches.

"General Prendergast's dispatch on the Burmese War is a striking contrast to much of the military writing that we have recently seen. In a few simple and modest paragraphs Sir Harry Prendergast describes the events

of that brief but brilliant campaign in a style that recalls the classical dispatches of English military history. People are in these days, and perhaps have at all times, been prone to measure the difficulties, and equally often the results of a war by the returns of the killed and wounded. Public attention is aroused by a long list of losses, and the popular mind jumps to the conclusion that because a campaign has been marked by great slaughter its issues must be commensurately important. It is obvious that this obliquity of vision has affected the vulgar view of the third Burmese war. If many hundreds of our troops had been killed, and many thousands of the unfortunate Burmese had likewise been despatched to their long home, the vulgar mind would undoubtedly have regarded the campaign as a much greater event than it seems disposed to do now. The true measure of the importance of a war is to be sought in its results. A campaign takes its place in history according to the consequences which spring from it. The third Burmese war has crushed a dangerous foreign intrigue in the bud, and thus averted much international trouble in the future, and perhaps overthrown what might have proved a dangerous foreign influence on the south-eastern frontiers of India, just as we have a similar influence on its north-western borders.

“These results have been wrought and these possibilities opened out by a war which lasted exactly a fortnight, and cost us in killed and wounded 34 officers and men.

“The more carefully the public consider the matter and take into account the many risks involved in the campaign, the more heartily will they be disposed, and the more intelligently will they be able to recognise, the justice of the eulogy passed by the Governor-General in Council on the admirable manner in which General Prendergast, and those under him, carried out the task set before them. The expedition was characterised

by completeness in a high degree. It was organised and despatched with singular rapidity, and it did its work in a manner that left almost nothing to be desired."

And yet, after all, what reward did Sir Harry Prendergast receive for his brilliant services! It is true he was appointed a K.C.B., but he received nothing for his services from December 1885 to March 1886, nor for his splendid advance on Bhamo, and it is a fact that two of his brigadiers received the same distinction as himself.

Finally, no notice was taken after 31st March 1886 of this consummate soldier, and after this time he never received any further military commands although he was especially qualified for them, and was particularly desirous of being so employed. It may be added that at the time Sir Harry was in the prime of life, being only fifty-one, and most active both in mind and body. The Secretary of State had with supreme dullness interfered with the arrangements made by the Viceroy, and had overruled both him and the Commander-in-Chief; and Prendergast was withdrawn from his command at a critical time. The crisis could not have had a better Commander-in-Chief, for he was active, had military genius, and was thoroughly conversant with the country and its people; the result of the Secretary of State interference was that the pacification of the country took much longer than it would otherwise have done, and the Government were after all compelled to do what they had refused to do before—place a Lieut.-General, and finally a General in command.

Prendergast ought certainly to have been made a G.C.B. Instead of that he was practically punished for his eminent services by being left without any military command, and in fact his military career thus ended. The cause of this blunder it is impossible to comprehend, for he was a consummate soldier and full of life and activity—craving to serve his Queen and his country. Lord Dufferin, as we shall show later on, was thoroughly

aware of his worth, and did his best to provide him with suitable work as a political officer, in which position he did most excellent work. He was, however, always keen for military employ, and it was the height of unwisdom of the Government to leave unutilized the splendid qualities which Prendergast possessed in an unusual and very high degree. The Government should have been determined to employ him in a military capacity after Burma, and finally appointed him Commander-in-Chief in India, and, in the end, no finer soldier would have graced the rank of Field-Marshal than Sir Harry Prendergast !

CHAPTER XII

POLITICAL EMPLOYMENT

ON return from Burma, Sir Harry was received at Government House, Madras, by Sir Mountstuart E. Grant Duff, and a banquet was given to him at the Madras Club.

From Madras he went to Secunderabad, and, at the Public Rooms there, was again fêted, General Gib (after Sir William A. Gib, K.C.B.) being in the chair.

About 100 guests attended the dinner, and not a member who could possibly be present was absent. General Gib proposed the health of the guest of the evening, and the toast was received with the utmost enthusiasm ; cheer after cheer, given with a heartiness there was no mistaking, testified to the kindly feelings with which the gallant General is regarded in this station and by the Madras Army at large. The enthusiasm at last subsided only to break out afresh when Sir Harry rose to reply. After thanking the General and those assembled for the honour they had conferred on him, he "accepted it as a compliment paid to the Burma Expeditionary Force, and whatever of merit is found in the achievement of this force is due to all who belong to it," and he then proceeded to speak in high terms of the Madras Army. "I have served for thirty years in the Madras Army. It is nearly thirty years since I first saw the Madras sepoy under fire, and I was not among those who distrusted him ; and I may say that in Burma faith in the Madras sepoy seemed to me to increase day by day as his work became known."

Then followed a description of the difficulties and uncertainties of the expedition, and various details regarding the fighting which proved that the Sepoy Brigade was qualified to fight the most stoutly contested action and bravely and manfully win without the brigadier and without the support of British troops. "I mention all this to show that the troops were equally trusted, promptness being the rule of the campaign. I am glad to say the gallantry was not confined to British officers; the names of several native officers and men have been brought forward as worthy of the Order of Merit for special acts of bravery. The fighting is generally in thick jungle; the enemy usually being in ambuscade. Yet the troops have suffered no defeats, and have kept their health, their condition and their discipline. I am proud to say that I have lost none of the confidence which I have always felt in the Madras sepoy."

During the delivery of this speech which was regarded, as it really was, as an appropriate defence of the Madras Army against the hostile criticisms that had lately been indulged in at its expense, the General was frequently interrupted by bursts of applause, and at its conclusion the cheers were loud and prolonged. "The proceedings were greatly enlivened by the excellent music supplied by the band of the Middlesex Regiment assisted by its 'fifes and drums.'"

He now went home to England for a few months, when he was asked to the Mansion House, and most of the Great City Guilds sent him invitations, of which he accepted a few, but, although he was received by H.R.H. The Duke of Cambridge, he was not received in audience by Her Majesty which certainly to his friends seemed a strange omission, considering what he had done for the country.

"The city banquets were splendid, occasionally I was amused by the want of knowledge of the East, and carelessness about Oriental affairs exhibited by those whom I met.

“At one dinner the names of the chief guests were called out in the anteroom, and the guests named stepped out and walked towards the banquet hall. When a popular statesman was named there was a buzz of applause, louder or less audible, according to his party and prominence. My name elicited not a sound. The wine and dinner were excellent. I was well placed, Mr. Andrew Laing on one side, and agreeable men near me; on my other side was a gentleman who knew that the correspondents in Burma, of his place of business in London, were a certain second-class firm in Rangoon, who had not heard of the war, much less of me. When the Chairman gave ‘the Army’ and coupled my name with it, he very kindly alluded to the war in Burma, and mentioned me in flattering terms; there was no silence then, the good cheer and the Chairman’s eloquent remarks had had their effect, and I was cheered to the echo! I ought not to have been astonished at men ignoring the history and geography of Burma, as I had to ask one of the Aldermen where the Guildhall was, where I had been bidden to a ball.”

After three months’ absence Sir Harry Prendergast returned, and not having any command, went to Ootacamund where he resided for more than a year.

“When command of a Presidency fell vacant I believe Lord Dufferin recommended that I should be appointed, but the Duke of Connaught was too strong a rival, and Sir Charles Arbuthnot was sent to Madras to leave Bombay for H.R.H.” This must have been a very great disappointment to Sir Harry, but he retained always his equable temper, and never showed any bitterness on the subject. He invariably took the advice of St. James: “In patience possess ye your souls.” In a letter to a friend at this time he says: “It has taken me some time to consider whether I can stand an idle life or not. I think I may truly say that I do not worry, fuss, or complain either at home or in company. Really I have nothing to complain of. My position is a

good one with nothing to do for Government except to draw my pay, and live in as good a climate as can be found anywhere. Unfortunately Ootacamund does not suit my wife's health, so we shall be obliged to move; but even that does not affect me as all climates are good to me. An officer said to me only yesterday, 'General A—— says that he cannot see that you have anything to complain of,' and the officer went on to say, 'You would have done much better not to have gone on service.' It is perfectly true that I should have been in a better position if I had never seen a shot fired; but memories are valuable. I have enjoyed my life, and feel that I have done something well; no one can deprive me of that satisfaction, though the credit of nearly all that I did in Burma after the fall of Mandalay has been apportioned by Government to others. I confess that I have written to Lord Dufferin to complain of dispatches calculated to rob me of my military reputation. That is the only complaint I have made.

"It is somewhat trying to be left behind when others are ordered on service, and to give small subscriptions instead of larger sums to public and charitable objects, and not to be able to entertain friends as I should wish, but with good health and no family troubles I should be a very unworthy descendant of my father and grandparents if I could not accept little misfortunes with equanimity."

At last, however, Lord Connemara (Governor of Madras) offered him the Acting Appointment of British Resident of Travancore and Cochin. He took over charge at Nagercoil from Mr. J. C. Hannington, and "was pleased to hear from him that in his opinion 'the appointment was the only one in Southern India fit for a gentleman to hold.' If the climate was not perfect, the residences were very comfortable, and the work not oppressive. The Maharajah was intelligent and quiet, the senior Rani was a remarkable and accomplished lady, and the junior Rani and her sons were interesting.

T. Rama Row, most liberal of statesmen, was the Minister. The senior Rani was married to the Velya Koil Tamburan, a handsome, intellectual, and poetical nobleman. In the time of the late king, it is said that he took part in some political intrigue, and that, being a hot-tempered man, on one occasion he threw a man out of his boat and drowned him. For some cause he was banished from Travancore. The senior Rani was childless; if she had a son he would be the next Raja, so when her husband was banished, her friends and relations urged her to take another husband, which would have been quite in accordance with the law and custom of the country, but she resisted their efforts.

“After some time the Rajah died, and his successor recalled the Velya Koil Tamburan, and her husband was restored to the senior Rani. Her Majesty the Queen Empress was so touched by the story of her constancy that she sent her portrait to the Rani and the order of the Crown of India. The Velya Koil Tamburan wrote a long Sanskrit poem on the occasion of Her Majesty’s Jubilee in 1887. He and the Rani live together very happily. The Rani paints well and exhibits at the Fine Arts Exhibition at Bombay, and she is also celebrated as a musician.

“The Maharajah is a very religious man. It was very curious to find so exclusive and Brahmin-ridden a ruler as the Maharajah, bent on ruling as a constitutional monarch, tying his own hands, making rules for the appointment of all classes of Government servants. His government was opposed to admitting a railway into Travancore, but His Highness was anxious to have a Council to limit the personal powers of the Rajah, and to improve the country, and he was interested in education and public works. His fear was that a successor might commit himself, and so misgovern the State that it would be annexed by Great Britain.

“Quilon was a former capital, and was the headquarters of a British division; now there is only a

regiment there, and the newspapers say it will not in future be garrisoned. The Commanding Officer is by treaty entitled to the use of a house and rations of fish and of oil daily.

“The Rajah of Cochin was a feeble old gentleman ; the Royal family lived together in a Royal village, 4 miles from Cochin, and the princes were more than thirty in number. One of them who called on me (I think the third) spoke of his tutor ; they seemed quiet, studious folk, but never got much further. Some of the princes had tried polo but didn’t like it. When I inquired about sport, a prince said : ‘ We do not shoot ; if we see blood we become dizzy.’ They were all very much attached to a very old Rani, and were careful to do her liking, and not to offend her. There was a most comfortable residency at Bolghetty, an island in the Cochin Harbour, a delightful retreat, for there was nothing on the island but the residency and subsidiary buildings, pretty gardens, and groves of cocoa-nut trees. Some people objected to the noise from the rookery ; others were startled by the frequent firing of guns from the mainland ; the priests after confession are in the habit of blowing away the sins of the penitents at a Greek church near Bolghetty, hence the reports !

“The white Jews are among the curiosities of Cochin. White Jews who marry a black Jewess lose caste, and are not admitted to the white Jews’ synagogue. The black Jews have a separate place of worship. Respect is shown to Christians in Cochin, but this is a relic of the days of Portuguese power. Through certain streets of the town only Brahmins and Christians are allowed to pass. The friend who drove me about on one occasion told me that he was in the habit of driving through certain streets to his boat to cross the harbour, and that this was the chief use of his pony trap ; a native groom (syce) that he had was always late in arriving at the boat-house. On being reproved for this slackness, he told his master that he was not allowed to pass through a

certain street because he was a Hindoo of low caste, and therefore it was impossible to avoid being late. His master regretted to lose a good servant, but told the syce he could not keep him. Two days after, the man trotted gaily through the forbidden street beside the trap, and in explanation lifted his turban, and, showing that his hair was cut short, said that he had become a Christian, and was therefore entitled to go where he pleased, and was consequently fit to be retained in his situation ! ”

On the 17th August he wrote an interesting letter from Courtallum, of which it is proposed to give some extracts. “ I have just arrived at a favourite watering-place. At present a bishop and his chaplain, two coffee planters with their wives, and two Zenana Mission ladies, Captain Howlett, my assistant, and I are the English population. There is a pretty waterfall, and every one goes for a swim in the pool below it every morning. The scenery is beautiful, and here, as at most places at which I stop, there is a residency, well furnished, having a fine garden and a pond full of pink lotus, with charming views of the falls and the hills beyond. You may think that an assistant is hardly necessary for a man who goes about in state, and apparently has nothing to do, but really we are not so idle as you might think. I act as a blister to the Rajahs who have to progress with the times. The Travancore King is under the influence of the old-fashioned Brahmins, staunch conservatives who like to keep all the learning to themselves, and to let all the other castes remain in gross ignorance. The resident goes with him to distribute prizes to the boys and girls at school, and pats him on the back for spending as large a sum on education, arts, and sciences, as on his army. To-day I have been visiting a magistrate’s court, police station, and schools and hospital of Shencotta the neighbouring town ; of a population of 30,000 and more, only 25 women can read and write.” Southern Travancore is overrun with



SIR HARRY PRENDERGAST WHEN RESIDENT
AT MYSORE.

missionaries ; no doubt they do much good, found many schools, and so on, but they are very troublesome citizens. I mean the Protestant missionaries. The Syrian Christians are always at war with one another ; the Roman Catholics work quietly and contentedly with considerable success.

“ By moving about one benefits the country, for on these occasions the roads are improved, and rest-houses put in order. I am here to compare the merits of different lines proposed for the railway. The Brahmins want the line run by this route, so that it may not pass too near the capital. The missionaries want to have a line through their stations near Cape Comorin and so to Trevandrum, as it would benefit their stations, and tend to abolish caste prejudices.”

Early in September Sir Harry Prendergast received a letter from Lord Dufferin offering him the appointment of Resident at Mysore. “ At last I have an opportunity, for which I have been long on the look out, of doing you a good turn, though I am afraid it will not carry with it any permanent advantage. The post is regarded as one of the pleasantest in the political service.” Mr. Fitzpatrick, who was at Mysore, was sent to Assam, and as Sir Charles Bernard would not be back till March, Prendergast would hold it for six months. In a letter announcing his approaching appointment to Mysore, he gives an interesting account of a Durbar at Trevandrum when he presented his credentials. “ At the appointed hour I drove to the great hall of the public offices in a State carriage with cavalry escort. The Prime Minister opens the door of the carriage, the Eliya Rajah hands me up the steps, and the Maharajah to the centre of the great hall ; I give the Maharajah my arm and lead him to his throne, and seat myself on his right, the Eliya Rajah on my right ; on the other side of the Rajah sits the British officer commanding the Travancore forces, and on his left my friend the First Prince (Rama Varma) with his State turban in the front,

of which his twinkling diamonds revolved with maddening effects. Of course outside the hall the Bodyguard in blue full dress, and the Nair Brigade in scarlet, presented arms and beat drums, and artillery thundered salutes, and the State elephants trumpeted. When the noise somewhat abated, an official handed me the letter from the Governor of Madras introducing me to the Maharajah; all stand up as I present it to His Highness. He breaks the seal, and hands it to the Prime Minister, who reads it out. Then the King makes me a little complimentary speech in English, nearly inaudible, and I reply suitably and inaudibly; then the King leans on my arm and walks to the door of the room, which contains all the beauty and fashion of Trevandrum. The Eliya Rajah takes me down the steps, the Dewan puts me into the carriage—troops salute, guns fire, and away we go with the escort, delighted at having gone through the performance without any breaches of etiquette. The leaning on the Resident's arm in public signifies that in affairs of State the Ruler looks for support to the representative of the British Rule. At Cochin the performance is rendered more difficult because one is presented with garlands and bouquets, and the Rajah is very infirm. It is not easy to march gracefully with a long string of flowers round your neck, a garland on each arm, a bouquet, helmet, and glove in your right hand, and an infirm old King and a sword attached to your left side!

“You wonder how I behave under trying circumstances. I have not had practice enough to put up my glass and my smile as easily as Lord Dufferin, but the impenetrable mask of the diplomatist comes naturally, and one requires it. It is so pleasant when a highly educated Brahmin calls on you and points out the great advantages that accrue to Government from having a local Press to point out the errors of those in power, when you have just been reading the local print full of scandal and lies; it is delightful to hear him

touch upon other matters, and assure you that Christians have no souls. Your next visitor is, perhaps, a missionary. He begins by abusing the Government of which you are a pillar; says that no good can come to the country till the Government is abolished; he then tells you a scandalous story about the King, probably utterly false; then you come to the main object of the visit: He has refused to live in the house belonging to the Mission because he says it is unhealthy, and has persuaded other people to say so, though it has been the Mission House for years. He has managed to get a house usually occupied by officers (and much wanted by them), a mile and more from his schools; the military men want to eject him, but though Commanding Officers have certain rights it is not quite clear what is the law in the case. The missionary says, 'There is only one way to settle the matter. Move the regiment out of the country.' Do not think more of the missionary story—some of the missionaries, especially the Roman Catholics, do much good, and the latter, so far as I have seen, are gentlemen.

"Our missionaries seem in some cases to have taken no account of that part of the Christian character. Mr. Matin, the head of the Mission here, is a fine specimen; he is a scholar, and a gentleman devoted to his duty. He lost favour at Court because his publisher economized space by grouping the King, one of the Princes, and the Prime Minister, who had selected each a becoming attitude for his portrait. When they were put together there was no show of respect to the King, so he was furious, for of course in His Highness's presence, the others should have stood with the right elbow in the palm of the left hand, and the right hand in front of the mouth!

"I spent a whole day last week lying in my boat reading *Paradise Lost*, but have not finished it. You remember what was St. Anthony's opinion—'A laughing woman with two bright eyes is the greatest devil of all.'

“I have to give my approval before anyone can be executed in Travancore and Cochin, so it is necessary to read carefully all the trials for murder. In every case that has come before me, *she* has been at the bottom of it!

“On one occasion it was expedient that the rulers of Travancore and Cochin should meet; the difficulty was that the Rajah of Cochin was of higher caste than the Rajah of Travancore, though the former ruled a much less important State. Sir T. Madhava Row, the Minister of Travancore, suggested that they should meet and shake hands like English gentlemen, and to this they agreed. Thus the Gordian knot was severed, and the interview was perfectly satisfactory.

“In Travancore and Cochin religious disputes were constantly cropping up, especially among Christians; different sections of the Greek Church were perpetually at variance, and some of the ministers of the London Mission were decidedly aggressive.”

General Prendergast left the limits of Cochin on 7th October, rejoined his family at Bangalore next day, on the 10th became British Resident in Mysore and Chief and Judicial Commissioner of Coorg, and on the 15th exchanged visits with the Maharajah at Mysore. The Maharajah is a very excellent young Prince, fond of horses. He showed me eighty-five of his favourites this afternoon—Arabs, English, Flemish, and Australian. His Highness goes to stables every morning and evening, and has a different team for every day of the week, for he drives ‘four-in-hand’ himself, and keeps a pack of hounds to which he rides, and he plays polo. In every respect he conducts himself like an English gentleman, except on State occasions, such as first visits. For these ceremonies we wear full dress, are escorted by a squadron of cavalry, travel in State coaches with four horses and postilions, give or receive garlands, bouquets, scent, and other abominations, talk the smallest of small-talk, though you may have important

subjects to discuss. Important topics are kept for the stableyard, where there are no listeners except the horses; they look wise but say nothing!"

On the 17th October Sir Harry and his family transferred themselves to the Residency, and their first visitor there was Dr. Gell, the Bishop of Madras.

"Sir R. Sheshadri-Iyer was the Minister, and Colonel Charles Bowen, R.E., an old and valued friend, was the Chief Engineer, so all went pleasantly. The transfer of the post office to the British, and arrangements about the Kolar Gold Mining Companies were among the most important measures passed. There was also considerable discussion regarding the water supply of Bangalore, both the Pettah and the cantonments."

The judicial work occupied a great portion of Sir Harry Prendergast's time as he had not had previous practice on the Bench.

It was in 1888 that rewards were given for Burma, and in one of his letters about this time Sir Harry remarked, "Several of the secretaries and aide-de-camps and Staff officers who obtained the rewards for Burma lately for the smallest possible exertions on the Staff of Viceroy or Commander-in-Chief of India and Madras, are personal friends of mine, but I was much hurt at the scanty notice taken of some of my best officers," and he might have further observed that no further honours were given to him, but, in his usual manner, he thought less of himself and more of those who had done fine work under him.

In March, Prendergast learnt that Sir Charles Bernard, for whom he was acting, had accepted a secretaryship at the India Office, and as it was likely that the Government of India would propose to place another man at the Residency, it was likely that he would have to vacate—and this was found to be the case. Sir Oliver St. John was to have the Residency, but the Viceroy arranged that the change should not take place till November 1888.

In 1887-88, a great deal of attention was given to the matter of the water supply of Bangalore, and Sir Harry Prendergast, then Resident, naturally knowing Bangalore so intimately was greatly interested in the subject. The writer was, at the time, superintending engineer of the Division including Bangalore, and investigated the point considerably, and in April 1888 suggested the Hessarghatta Tank as a fine source of supply. He described his scheme and sent in an approximate estimate, recommending that detailed estimates should be at once prepared by the executive engineer. The chief engineer, for some reason best known to himself, took no steps to carry out the proposal, but the writer sent his papers to Sir Harry Prendergast, then Resident ; and he, in company with the late Major Charles Kensington, R.E., visited the Tank, and they were both extremely pleased with the scheme, which they thought excellent, although they considered it might be found too costly. Nothing further was done in the matter, but, five years after, the Dewan of Mysore (Sir K. Sheshadri Iyer, K.C.S.I.) took the matter up, and finally it was arranged to carry it out as a joint-scheme between the Mysore Government and the British Government—the Mysore Government paying for the supply to the Pettah, while the Government of India met the share of expenses for the supply of the troops and the cantonment of Bangalore. The works were finally carried to completion, and are, it is believed, most effective, but they were not finished till 1896 ; and they might have been in existence some six years previously had proper attention been given to the report of 1888. The Durbar came to the opinion that “the Hessarghatta Scheme is the only one which offers the prospect of a successful joint water supply.”

In May 1888 Sir Harry paid a short visit to the beautiful hills of Coorg. This entailed eight hours in the train from Bangalore to cover some 80 miles ; as the bridges were not very safe it was discreet not to

hurry along the line, then a pleasant drive of 50 miles brought him to Fraserpett, and next day a ride of 19 miles to Mercara. "My business was to talk to some of the Chiefs about raising a Coorg Regiment. They were fine, handsome, well-dressed men, and spoke out freely, which is unusual with Asiatics. They were quite ready to serve, if very highly paid, and not moved from their homes except for field service."

In 1878 he had been sent by the Duke of Buckingham, then Governor of Madras, to report on the fort and palace, and he now found that what he had then recommended for the palace was nearly finished, but the fort is not kept up for military purposes and therefore had not been touched. "In the 'good old days' the Rajah used to indulge his sporting proclivities occasionally by causing prisoners to be let out from a gaol in one corner of the fort for a run to the main guard, while he made rifle practice at 80 yards at the fugitives from the palace windows. We never do that nowadays, so the prisoners find the gaol very dull (!)

"In India one has plenty of work, and is tired in the evening, and there is not much time for thinking of anything beyond the day's work, except when travelling. There is a charm in having a variety of kinds of work, and the subtlety of the natives is interesting; here the officials are Brahmins, and the only way to perplex them is the good old English plan of always going straight, and speaking the truth.

"A man who pursues that system and has some talent for silence, avoids many snares and difficulties.

"The only interesting part of our railway is that in which is the Fortress of Seringapatam; the train enters close to the breach made by the British, and passes near the place where Tippoo fell."

In July he had Lord Connemara and his people staying with him at the Residency at Bangalore, "and were leading a cheerful life, and the races are made more interesting by having two owners of horses in the house.

There are five⁷ days⁷ of racing, and it is pleasant to know nearly every one in the Grand Stand and betting ring.

“You asked me lately for a book on Indian religions. I have just been reading one on the Buddhist religion, parts of which are charming—I mean Edwin Arnold’s *Light of Asia*. It was published in 1879, but the pleasure of enjoying it has been deferred by me till quite lately. It is short, and you will be charmed with the grace of some of the descriptions. I am threatened with removal from Mysore to Baroda, which will be a lamentable change from the best climate and the best house in India to the more modest and warmer Residency at the Gaekwar’s capital. I do not mind the change so much for myself as for the ladies, for my health has been proof against many worse climates, but here the Maharajah and all his officers know me, and nearly all the troops have served under my command. Four of the regiments were with me in Burma, and I know the country and its politics and its requirements, and, naturally, take a deep interest in the people of Mysore and Coorg, whereas I have never been to Baroda, am not acquainted with the Maharajah or any of his ministers or subjects, and I do not even know the language of the country (Mahratti). However, at Baroda the appointment will be permanent, which means that I can hold it for the next five years if I please. The dignity and salary are far inferior to those of Mysore, but as I entered political life so lately I am considered by some people to be handsomely provided for.

“The Mysore Maharajah is a remarkably steady young Prince, very domestic, and fond of his family, takes an interest in his horses, rides well, plays polo, hunts, and drives four-in-hand, and does not interfere in politics. He gave a ball at the palace on Friday, and is coming to us on Monday, and enjoys a quadrille or the lancers. The Baroda Prince has somewhat the same tastes, I believe, but is not so discreet, or so good at anything.

The move is not to be carried out till November, so we make the most of our time." In a letter, dated 5th November, he writes: "It is curious that Brighton has great fascination for some people. I prefer Cape Comorin with its sand full of iron ore and garnets; and its holy temple and its quaint legends; cocoa-nuts are the only trees there, and it is a wild, weird place with a waste of waters round, a curious contrast to Brighton, and I have no doubt that after a week of reflection and solitude at the Cape, any one would be very glad of a trip to Brighton.

"We have had the Governor and the Commander-in-Chief staying with us lately; for the former no amount of liveliness was too much, for Lord Connemara is a genial creature.

"The Chief is shy, so we let him off with a small dinner and a dance. The Governor of Madras in his own territory affects Royal State in some respects, always insists on a State quadrille in which all the oldest and least-favoured people have to take part; the Chief, who apparently never danced in his youth, does not appear to advantage on these occasions. Our latest excitements have been at Mysore.

"During the Dussara the Maharajah for ten days does not leave his palace, is left unshaven, and does various penances. On the last day we were all invited to the Durbar, and found His Highness sitting in state with a heavy crown on his head, and laden with jewellery (his pearls are very fine, and he has good diamonds and emeralds), his cushions were spread on the ivory chair which his predecessors were permitted to use in Durbar by the Great Mogul; after watching wrestlers and jugglers in the arena before the palace for hours, garlands and bouquets were presented, and the assembly broke up. It was a picturesque sight, the Rajah in a great hall surrounded by his court could be seen by the crowds assembled in a great square in front of the palace. Troops were drawn up on three sides of the square,

and there were military bands playing, and heralds singing the praises of His Highness.

“One evening we were invited to a banquet at one of the palaces; with the dessert came the Maharajah, and a score of his courtiers, when we flattered each other till it was time to go out and see the illuminations and fireworks. Then there were three days of racing, and two polo matches, and a cricket match against the ladies, we using broomsticks in our left hands while the ladies had bats. This was a great success, and caused much merriment. The girls had a very happy time, as they enjoy having a house full of guests, and driving in a coach and four with a rissalla of cavalry for escort, and artillery, salutes, and all the rest of the show and pomp of life in a native state.

“I am to remain here till the end of this year; after Christmas Lord Lansdowne will be Viceroy, and I may go to Baroda. I know very little about the country. The Gaekwar has batteries of gold guns and of silver guns. The newspapers say that there is a prospect of famine in the land, so it will not be a pleasant place to live in.”

Lord Dufferin, in a letter intimating to Sir Harry Prendergast his intention of sending him to Baroda, writes in such a manner as to show how highly he appreciates the fine qualities he notes as belonging to Sir Harry, and further adds his anxiety to obtain suitable positions for him. “It has occurred to me that you might like to go to Baroda, which, though only a second-class residency, is a place of great importance for which you would be very well suited.

“The Gaekwar is a very peculiar young man, possessing a great number of excellent qualities, but unfortunately his health is not very good and his ill-health affects his mind. It has consequently occurred to me that your kind, manly, and straightforward disposition would exactly suit him. One of his peculiarities is a morbid fear of British interference. Now as he is an excellent

ruler and entitled to every consideration, we have not the slightest desire or wish to interfere with the management of his state. On the other hand, it is of the utmost importance that he should remain under the influence of the best type of English habits and thought and feeling, and I have no doubt that your companionship would prove an excellent tonic to his unbalanced mind."

Transferred to Baroda in January 1889, he found himself in quite a different position to that which he had held at Mysore for about fifteen months. "The Baroda residency was at one time under the Bombay Government, and there seemed to be a recollection of this fact in the minds of the Bombay officials; besides this, all the neighbouring native states were provided with political officers by the Bombay government, so that there was perpetual antagonistic feeling between the Baroda Resident and his neighbours. I never take official controversies to heart. I remember on one occasion meeting at a friend's house the political officer from a neighbouring state; his portmanteau had not arrived, and I provided him with a great-coat on a cold night, and tried to make myself pleasant. 'I know your name very well. I think we have had some official correspondence,' said I. 'Yes, sir.' 'I hope that it was all satisfactory. I am rather like a lamb amongst wolves between you Bombay officials.' Then his look revealed that I had done him grievous harm officially, though I really had no recollection as to the subject about which we had differed; but he looked upon me as a dangerous enemy!

"The Gaekwar of Baroda is a remarkably intelligent statesman; he thinks that a Maharajah should be his own Dewan, and he is fond of work, especially revenue work; unfortunately he cannot stand continual work, and his chief officers are afraid to carry on work without his orders, if he happens to be sick or absent, so that work is frequently delayed on that account; then he has an idea that the climate of Baroda does not suit

him, so he is frequently absent at Mahableswar, or the Neilgherries, or in Europe, on the ground of ill-health or inability to live in Baroda. The Maharajah could ride and drive, but did not care about either ; he was building a magnificent palace, but was not satisfied with it."

Sir Harry wrote to a friend : " We left Bangalore sorrowfully a month ago, and certainly found Baroda a sad contrast, but people go very long distances to visit the sights of Baroda. The royal jewels are very fine ; one of the diamonds they consider second only to the Koh-i-noor, and the pearls are magnificent ; the collections seem more valuable and handsome than those of Mysore or Hyderabad. A late Maharajah had two field guns made of silver on brass carriages, which are very much admired ; but the next monarch went beyond him, and had his guns made of pure gold with solid silver carriages and wheels ; they are only used for salutes on grand occasions, but they make a proud show with their grand bullocks standing 16 hands high, having golden cases for their horns, and cloth of gold blankets, and golden ornaments on their knees and golden rings on their fetlocks.

" Then there is a great arena in which brutal fights between tigers and buffaloes, elephants and panthers, rhinoceri, rams and other beasts, used to take place ; now they have fights between rams, between elephants and between buffaloes, but care is taken that they do not hurt each other.

" The sport is not more cruel, and not nearly so exciting as a good match at football.

" Then there is a beautiful palace which has been already ten years in building and may be complete a few years hence. It will be the most perfect in India. It was designed by Major Charles Mant of the Bombay Royal Engineers, and is a curious but handsome structure, which it would be impossible to classify under any order of architecture. Lord and Lady Jersey were staying with us for a few days, and her ladyship is writing a

book, so you may perhaps see an account of the new palace in it."

In February 1889 he went on a visit to Calcutta to pay his respects to the Viceroy. "I have only been here four days (20th February), but went the first day to call on the Viceroy—he could only spare me three minutes, which seemed a short allowance, considering the journey to and fro covers 3300 miles, but I was asked to dinner the same night, and now I am expecting orders to go as Chief Commissioner to Baluchistan, headquarters Quetta. It is about the most important political charge in India, and it is, I consider, a great compliment to be offered such an appointment, though only for six months. It will be most interesting to me to see the railway, and all the military defences on which money is being freely spent. I shall have to ride about among all the wild border tribes, and it will be almost like being on active service. The matter is not quite settled, but so nearly that I have telegraphed to my wife to pack up. I do not know what she will think of this new excitement. Diplomacy at a court such as that of Baroda is not amusing, but governing the wild tribes is a far more pleasing task to me; I hope that I shall succeed. My friend Sir Oliver St. John, who is now Resident in Mysore, would be very pleased to go to Quetta. The newspapers will be full of abuse of me in a day or two, when they find out that I am to go to the frontier. The Calcutta season is in full swing, and every one is hospitably disposed towards me, so I am leading a most dissipated life!

"I think you will be glad to hear that Government has remembered me so handsomely just at a time when it seemed I was not prospering."

It was in April 1889 that he was transferred to Baluchistan to officiate for Sir Robert Sandeman, who had gone on leave for six months. Prendergast considered the appointment the best in India for an ambitious political officer. He remarks: "Sir Robert Sandeman

was a strong man, who knew Baluchistan and its people well, and it was essential that the officer who held his appointment should not act in accordance with his views so far as possible. When Sandeman went on leave the civil officer at Peshin was transferred to the Foreign Office at Simla, and an inexperienced officer (though very clever and satisfactory in other respects), who knew not the language of the country, was appointed in his room; a very able officer, who had been in Kurrachee for some time, was replaced by a charming fellow noted neither for talent nor industry, and a personal assistant new to the work was appointed; in fact, nearly the whole establishment was changed at a time that the Governor-General's agent was relieved. Having taken the opinion of Barnes, who was about to start for Simla, I had some alterations made in the appointments; but whatever exchanges might be made in this way, it was impossible to bring the establishment to anything like the efficiency of that which was broken up, and I very soon found that I should have difficulties.

“One of my political officers was imprudent at Chaman, swords were drawn, and it was only by the presence of mind of a native official that bloodshed was avoided. The matter was so serious that I had to uphold my officer and banish three important chiefs; this was done at once, they were taken away under escort from my presence the next morning to the railway station, and so to Kurrachee, 600 miles, and there they stayed for six months. Unfortunately, they were favourites of Sandeman, but nothing else could be done, and their removal perhaps facilitated police arrangements. Brawls frequently occurred amongst the different tribes, which were settled by the jirgahs or councils assembled on the spot by the political officers. They had rough-and-ready scales of compensation for the death of tribesmen, in terms of camels, rupees, or girls to be given by the aggressor to the aggrieved. With the exception of tribal feuds there was not much crime that came

before me, as a High Court. The sudden outrage law was in force, and murders were tried by the first class magistrates summarily, and execution carried out promptly. Lawyers were not allowed to appear in any court ; this was a wise precaution, for no miscreant escaped punishment by the skill of an advocate ; and political officers were very careful in their judgment, for the whole responsibility lay with them. A story is told of a fashionable barrister coming up to appear in a case. Sandeman heard of it, invited the barrister to stay at the Residency, and treated him with the greatest courtesy. On the morning of the trial, the guest mentioned after breakfast that he was going to appear before him in the great case, but Sandeman regretted that was contrary to regulations to hear him ! No barristers have secured fees since, though applications to practise are submitted. So soon as the people are sufficiently educated no doubt all the forms and ceremonies and advocates attached to law courts will be introduced to Baluchistan. In fact, I suppose they have been introduced already, as Mr. Barnes is now Judicial Commissioner.

“ Before joining at Quetta, I had been urged by the military authorities to pay special attention to the forests, and to the provision of fuel for armies marching through Baluchistan. On my arrival I found that the green patches on the map termed forests consisted for the most part of a few trees on the top of rocky hills, or of tracts where it was proposed to plant trees. The engineers of the Khojak Tunnel used every tree that could be found for miles round for their operations, and it was astonishing how much wood was sold in the bazaar as fuel, considering that trees were so scarce and inaccessible.

“ I was anxious to make it penal to cut a tree, but the railway belonged to the Government of India, so I could not do anything which would delay the completion of the line !

“ At Khattan in the low country there were oil wells ; the weather was terribly hot, but I determined to visit them. The Residency surgeon warned me that it was dangerous to go on account of the heat, and said that it was absolutely necessary to drive. However, there was no trap available, and we went by train to the nearest station, dined and slept there, and having sent camels with kit and provisions ahead, we started at three on a moonlight morning, and covered 40 miles by 7 a.m., having interviewed several Baluch chiefs and engineers on the way. ‘ No one was awake at Khattan, but very soon Mr. Townsend, the engineer, made us welcome, and showed us the oil field.’ The wells had been sunk to a depth of 700 feet, and oil had been struck at various depths between 700 feet and the surface, but water entered the pipes, and the output was not altogether satisfactory. The place was infernally hot, the smell of oil and sulphur was sickening ; but the expert was sanguine of obtaining oil in paying quantities. Mangy camels have an eye for petroleum, which acts beneficially on their sores ; they discovered the mineral oil at Khattan, and on the backs of camels it was conveyed in casks to the railway station ; there it was stored in a great masonry tank, till run into waggons and taken by train to the Khojak, where it was used in the workshops. The petroleum was of the consistency of treacle, and it was proposed to convey it in pipes from the wells ; machinery was required to force it through the pipes, and it was intended to set up engines every ten miles to drive the viscous product from the wells to the station.

“ The oil-tanks for transit by rail were out of order, and not at work when I visited Khattan.

“ There were indications of oil in the Bolan Pass, but the Khattan wells were the most successful experiment ; it was very important to find mineral fuel of some kind, so I inspected the trial pits at Much, and the mines at Khost ; the former were not promising, and the latter were not worked with spirit. The engineer in charge

had also to superintend more important workings 800 miles off in the Punjab in a bearable climate, so Khost, which is as hot and horrid a spot as could be found in Baluchistan, did not receive much attention ; but there was evidence of coal in small quantities for about 40 miles towards Quetta, and within 10 miles of Quetta there was coal close to the surface. If a prohibition to use wood for brick burning had been issued there is little doubt that coal would have been used freely. It seems clear that if large forces have to march through Baluchistan, mineral fuel must be used. Mr. Oldham, the geologist, was sent to Baluchistan at my request, to report on the coal ; even if he reported that it did not exist in sufficient quantity to pay for working it in peace time, coal of sufficiently good quality to be used in locomotives on a moderately level line would be of infinite value to troops marching towards the frontier.

“ In Baluchistan nature has provided little but rocky mountains, the plains brown and burnt up ; but if water be brought to them anything will grow.

“ In the grounds of the Residency at Quetta, peaches and nectarines, mulberries, apricots, grapes, and strawberries flourished. Wherever there was cultivation water had been conducted by karezes (or watercourses) from the skirts of hills to the field. A spring being found in the débris at the foot of a hill, wells are dug to track its underground course, and a tunnel is made from well to well. As the ground slopes from the hill the watercourse, after a distance of a mile or more, reaches the surface and is led in open channels to the fields.

“ The troops in Quetta were provided with decent barracks, though the officers' quarters at that time (1889) were disgracefully bad ; and when the hot weather came on the troops suffered from enteric fever. Water-supply works from the river Hannu were under construction ; the head work at the river was very simple ; trenches for the iron pipes had been cut, and the pipes had been taken out and placed beside the trenches for

part of the distance, and the reservoir near the barracks was approaching completion.

“Unfortunately an oil well sinking apparatus that has been used in the Bolan was available, and was used at Quetta railway station to obtain water as an artesian well. The water rose at once 40 feet above the surface. Telegraphic orders then arrived from Simla that the pipes for the Hannu water supply were to be countermanded. Some wise folk at Simla thought that the artesian well was the remedy for every evil, ignoring the fact that the railway station was 250 feet lower than the distributing reservoirs, and that the artesian well did not command the barracks! I believe that now the Hannu water supply is a success; there was about 11 miles of main from the head works to the reservoir. The reservoir was sunk in the ground and the walls were strengthened inside so as to resist earthquakes.

“Soon after my arrival I went out to inspect the Khojak Tunnel. The resident engineer treated me right royally; his officers were invited to meet me at dinner; after dinner one of them was taken ill, so we retired early. I had a disturbed night and arose about daylight hearing a case going on in the next room before one of the political officers; with aching head I listened to this for a time.

“All the guests had suffered. By chance all, except the host, had partaken of a vegetable that looked like vegetable marrow and was really colocynth! All pleasure in the excursion was gone, but we were expected on the Afghan side of the tunnel at a certain hour, so we trudged through the slush and water and dirt of the tunnel, tripping over ‘sleepers’ and rails, knocking weary heads against rocks and timber; then we were hauled up a shaft from the intense heat of the tunnel to the cold blast of the ice-cold mountain. By the time that the horses had arrived the sun was shining, and the heat became intense as we rode slowly over the top of the pass and so down to the engineer camp. No

One cared for lunch. The medical officer kindly made a great brew of physic which served as meat and drink for us.

“After we rode out to decide which of several streams should be selected as the source of supply for New Chaman; afterwards we rode to the site of New Chaman, and in the evening ascended the mountain pass by an incline of 1 to 1.

“By dinner-time I was nearly recovered, but poor G——, who could not resist milk and apricots after his long ride, was moaning and groaning and very sorry for himself.

“The tunnel is more than 3 miles long, and is a wonderful work to find in so wild a pass as the Khojak. New Chaman was occupied when I was agent to the Governor-General in Baluchistan. A detachment consisting of four companies Native Infantry, a squadron of cavalry, two guns and a company of sappers, was ordered to occupy ground purchased from one ‘Paradis,’ near the site of the proposed railway station beyond the Khojak, 4 miles beyond Chaman Fort. It was a ghastly barren spot, and the Foreign Office objected to my naming the new station ‘Paradise’!

“The Amir of Afghanistan did not quite recognize our right to the ground, so I warned General Sir George White to be ready to march his division over the Khojak at a moment’s notice, and it was arranged that the contracts for the heavy earthwork on the Kandahar side of the tunnel should be executed by subjects of the Amir, so that thousands of Pathans should have a personal interest in the construction of the railway.

“All went well, and there was no trouble about the railway station or occupation of New Chaman.

“A little later, however, the Governor of Kandahar intimated to me that he had orders to visit New Chaman. I sent an officer of rank to meet and entertain him, and invited him to inspect the Khojak Tunnel and stay with me at Quetta. He went to Chaman but had not

leave to come to Quetta; and as regards the tunnel remarked that 'when a man was wounded in the navel he didn't care to investigate the orifice'!

"The only important quarrel that I had to adjudicate was one between the Mirzais and Achakzais in the Zhob Valley. They declined to go to the political officer at Lorolai (100 miles east of Quetta) to have their difficulties settled, so I went to the spot with my escort of two guns, a squadron of cavalry, 200 infantry, and a swarm of tribesmen. When we arrived at the disputed frontier it was necessary to send the cavalry to bring in one chief; but when we arrived a jirgah was assembled, and an agreement was made which affected chiefs 50 miles from the British frontier. I was ill at the time, and was glad to get away when the matter was settled, and rode 70 miles the following morning to the nearest railway station from the neighbourhood of Hindoobagh.

"On that expedition I took survey officers, and a good deal of unknown country was sketched.

"I have always advocated the policy of obtaining sketches of country beyond the frontier, and have been shocked to find how little was known of ground within 10 or 15 miles of our frontier stations. Officers fond of sport are to be found in every station ready to make sketches and surveys when out shooting, and it seems crass folly to prevent them from so doing. In frontier stations the troops should be practised in route marching in every direction, and on such occasions sketches should always be made. During the war in Burma orders were issued that route marching and sketching should be practised from all stations, and the trigonometrical survey officers were astonished at the amount of good geographical work that had been done before they arrived; but from what I have seen in many parts of India these duties seem as a rule to be entirely neglected. I must say, however, that in all my commands, officers have taken to them most efficiently, and with the

greatest zeal and interest, especially when the chances of sport were added to the duties required of them. When officers appreciate that they are really doing useful military service, and that exercises are not being set them by a schoolmaster, they do their very best, and take a great interest in their work. I am told that Russia has far more accurate maps of our frontier on the north-west than we have; if so, it is the fault of the authorities, and we might very soon have excellent maps if discreet instructions were given."

In the month of May, Sir Harry wrote an interesting account of Quetta to a friend which is worthy of introduction at this point. "A more dreary-looking place than the cantonment of Quetta cannot be imagined, but the residency and civil lines have been longer in occupation, trees have been planted, and gardens laid out, and the view from my windows is wonderfully beautiful as you look over the grassy lawn and through the groves of apricot and mulberry trees at the snowy peaks of Mount Takatoo (some 12,000 feet high). At present the rose trees are in full bloom, and in such quantities as I have never seen equalled; though my daughters send 50 bouquets at a time to the men in hospital, our avenue is redolent of roses. The house is small, but quite a palace compared with the quarters of military men, which are smaller than the huts at Aldershot. The journey from Baroda consisted of one night in the train from Baroda to Bombay, two days in a steamer from Bombay to Kurrachee, and about 48 hours in the train along the valley of the Indus, and through the burnt-up passes of the mountains of Baluchistan. Sir George White, who served under me in Burma, is the General, and the military society is large. There is a club, an institute, where we dance and play lawn tennis and read books; there is a race-course, an excellent polo ground, and a very good cricket ground. I dare say that you have read the articles in the *Fortnightly* of March and April by the author of

Greater Britain, which describes Quetta and the road hence to the Punjab, and mentions most of the men with whom I am in contact. Sir Charles Dilke has a great admiration for Sir Robert Sandeman, whose appointment I am now holding, and I think he is right. The work is varied and interesting; besides general administration, revenue affairs, public works, and police, one has political correspondence with Kandahar and Kelat, and has to keep order amongst the tribes of the Baluch Confederacy, among whom the vendetta is as fashionable as it ever was in Corsica! I am a district judge for some parts of the country, and a high court for others. Situated as Quetta is on the Kandahar frontier, and surrounded as we are with wild tribesmen, the officers of the agency should be the very best procurable, for any mistakes here might precipitate the great war to which the Commander-in-Chief is looking forward. Vast sums of money have been spent on the fortifications round Quetta and on the loop line of railway that now joins Quetta with the Punjab and Sind, and leads hence to the frontier of Afghanistan; and when Russia moves to Herat the garrison of Quetta will be prepared to occupy Kandahar. Amongst other good things Baluchistan produces petroleum. I rode out to see the works the other day with an escort of Murrees, people who attacked our forts near Sibi the moment they heard of the defeat of the British at Maiwand; and now these tribes are our good friends, and for a small money consideration abstain from killing the officers and workmen at the oil wells, and protect them from molestation by other tribes.

“Quaint questions crop up occasionally. A chief sends in to say that such a tribe has attacked him and killed so many of his followers, and asks, ‘Will you dispose of the matter, or may I take my revenge?’ One tribe having aggrieved another, an assembly of chiefs ordered that the aggressors should pay a sum of money, 20 camels, 40 donkeys to the other tribe, and that the aggrieved

should give four of their daughters in marriage to the other tribe, then they made friends !

“ An English or Irish woman, a Roman Catholic, asks me to grant her divorce, her husband having deserted her. The priest says to me that it is impossible to divorce her. She says she does not care, she must have her divorce. I wonder how the chiefs would decide that matter if it were referred to them ?

“ Sir Robert Sandeman was in the habit of shaking hands with the country folk. I do not quite like it, but I am bound to follow his customs, otherwise I should offend these people. Many of them are fine big fellows well over 6 feet in height, with long black curls hanging down to their shoulders, but I like them out of doors better than in a room. It seems unkind to shake hands with a man on his entering the room, and ten minutes afterwards to send him away under arrest to Sibi or Kurrachee hundreds of miles from his home.

“ We are, or ought to be, enjoying our festive week—four days cricket, two days racing, matches at polo, racquets, lawn tennis, and two dances ; strangers come from a distance and we are bound to be gay !

“ No visitors come here in the summer because the passes and Sind are so hot, but here we are in a delightful climate. I had strawberries at breakfast this morning, and look forward to the apples, apricots, and peaches that will be ripe three months hence.”

Towards the end of his stay in Baluchistan he had many domestic troubles ; first, his only grandchild, the daughter of Major Gough and his eldest daughter, a beautiful baby, died of cholera, soon followed to the tomb by her mother, who died of typhoid. They daily received telegrams regarding her health in her last days. She was eight days' railway journey from them. His two other daughters had been suffering with fever, and he himself for weeks was troubled with dysentery and fever, the results to him of the expedition into the Zhob

Valley. His wife nursed them all, was up night after night, and to her activity they were indebted for their recovery, but naturally she was shaken by so much sorrow and anxiety.

In October they were all at Malabar Hill, Bombay, inhaling the sea breezes before returning to Baroda, fortunate in having escaped from Baluchistan with their lives.

In one of his letters at this time he mentions an incident showing the temper of the men on the frontier. "A tribesman was incensed at a miscarriage of justice, as he considered, before one of our magistrates, so to square accounts he shot a military muleteer and made off with a mule. Two British officers pursued; the man shot them both. Lieut. Harris, R.E., was killed, and Rooke of the Sind Horse was wounded; the Afghan was shot and died of his wounds."

The great events of his stay in Baluchistan were, first, the pushing on of the North-West Railway beyond the Khwaja Amran Mountains, considered by the Amir to be the British Afghan frontier, and the establishment of a military station and terminus at Chaman. To have arranged this without bringing on a war with Afghanistan was a "feather in his cap"; and, secondly, the settlement of the tribes in the Upper Zhob Valley.

These bloodless successes pleased him, both were so quietly done that no one heard of them. In Bombay he lived on Malabar Hill, seeing no one, and his amusement was to see the batteries and defensive works, and to go about the beautiful harbour: the city he found wonderfully improved, the public buildings very fine, and the scenery charming.

Early in February 1890 H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught was to come and stay with them at Baroda, and later in the month Prince Albert Edward was to be their guest, so, as he remarked, "we are not quite out of the world."

In November 1889 they were back again at Baroda, but he found it difficult to think well of a place where

Lady Prendergast was so unwell that in January she had hardly ever left the house since their return. "If she were well it would suit me well enough. The Society is very small, but guests who stay two or three days are legion. My work is not hard, those with whom I have to deal are accomplished diplomats, and it requires to keep cool in dealing with them; but in the East we are never hurried, so there is time to think.

"Even the Gaekwar, when asked why he was so often absent from his capital, told me that it was impossible to live in such a climate, and to the question, What climate does suit you? he replied, 'The Engadine suits me exactly!' His Highness is hospitable and kind, hypochondriac; fond of discussing affairs of State, and of revenue details; but not a reader, although a promoter of education, liberal in his religious views, although surrounded by Brahmins. His Highness entrusted a Mohammedan judge with the duty of selecting for him in England a private physician and a yacht. The physician pleased him, and was a good selection, but the most popular physician in Bombay was always brought down for consultation when the Maharajah was sick. The yacht was beautifully furnished, *The Zingara*, and was quite a show; but Baroda has no port which she could enter, and was not large enough to accommodate the Gaekwar and his suite when they went by sea from Bombay to Calicut on their way to the Neilgherries, so he took up a British India Company's steamer on those occasions. The Gaekwar wished one of his relations to visit Europe for educational purposes; the young man, before committing himself, asked to be allowed to make a trip in the Bombay harbour to try how he liked life on board ship. The Captain unfortunately ran her on a rock in the harbour, and nearly lost her, and the yacht was so damaged that she was sold.

"Baroda was at a convenient distance from Bombay. The night-train, starting at 9 or 10 p.m., reached Bombay at daybreak. Amongst their visitors were H.R.H. the

Duke of Clarence, H.I.H. the Czarowitch, and Prince George of Greece, Prince and Princess Schubatoff, Earl and Countess of Jersey, Lord and Lady Reay, Sir Arthur and Lady Hayter, Mr. and Mrs. Childers, Sir H. Seymour King, Sir George Greaves, and Sir E. and Lady Fremantle.

"The Gaekwar gave a great dinner to the Duke of Clarence, showed him the new palace, and accompanied him to hunt with cheetahs." Sir Harry Prendergast was asked to entertain the Czarowitch for a day when he elected to go out shooting. "The greater part of the staff spent their time at the Residency and in sight-seeing, as there was only shooting for four rifles.

"On arrival at the station nearest to the shooting ground, we had tea in a tent. The Czarowitch asked me where the shoot was to be. I said it would begin 4 miles off, that there were about 150 antelope there, and if they killed all of them, there were about 50 more in another plain. I told him there were plenty of beautiful 'arabs' for the party, but he declared that riding would make his hand shake, so he and the Crown Prince of Greece went in a tonga drawn by a beautiful pair of grey Arab ponies; bullock tongas were provided for the rest of the Russians. The track was remarkably rough, cut up by holes about 18 inches deep and 24 inches in diameter. All the Englishmen rode out, and I was glad that the Royalties went on wheels, for the horses had not been exercised for a week, the saddles were brand-new, and the horses were full of 'beans' and spirits. Arrived in the middle of the preserve, the rifles were divided into three parties, headed by the Czarowitch, Prince George, and Prince Bariatinsky. Mr. Littledale, Colonel Jackson, and another sportsman without firearms were told off to accompany them. The three parties started from the centre of the preserve towards the north-west. Prince George, who had enjoyed the jolting in the tonga, which nearly dislocated the bones

of some of his compatriots, was in high glee, saying, 'I am sure I can hit something; there are plenty of men and bullocks in the long grass if there is no game!' After seeing them march off, I rode quietly to the camp. The first of the party to return was the Czarowitch. After a time the others came into the breakfast tent. General Bariatinsky was the last to sit down. He had stayed out to get a second shot at an antelope that he had wounded. I think he bagged two bucks. Prince George was very excited at his success. 'Un grand, deux petits et cinque femeles.' The Czarowitch was not so successful. When creeping up to get a shot at a black buck, he was just about to fire, when whizz came bullets over his head. 'Nip behind me, sir,' cried Littledale, the stout and brawny officer in charge. But the sport was too dangerous, and the Czarowitch was persuaded to give up the shooting. His cousin, Prince George, had sighted the very herd that had attracted the Czarowitch, and had worked round to the other side of the herd, so that when he fired the bullets passed unpleasantly near the Czarowitch. Prince Bariatinsky had the reputation of being a great sportsman, so, in conversation with him, I regretted that the notice of their coming was so short, that I had been unable to arrange a pig-sticking party for them as far better sport than shooting tame antelope. He said that in his country they were in the habit of shooting wild boar. I entreated him never to mention in India that he had done such a thing, as the murderer of a pig in India was looked upon with as much contempt as a vulpicide in England or Ireland. Notwithstanding my warning, the Imperial and Royal party at Jodhpore in fine riding country shot down ten beautiful pigs one morning. Nothing could be more fatal to Russian prestige among the hard-riding Rajpoot nobles than such a massacre as that! Prince and Princess Schubatoff were very observant; wanted to know all about the people, system of Government, etc., and the Prince was much interested in

military matters. I was rather afraid of Mr. Childers, as he came armed with letters to some of the persons who aided and abetted Mr. Caine in delivering a lecture at Baroda ; but Mr. Childers placed himself in my hands, and it was a real pleasure to see him (an old schoolfellow) and Mrs. Childers at the Residency."

On the 12th January 1890 Sir Harry went out for a day's hunting with the Maharajah. The train started at 6 a.m. for Itola, 10 miles off. "After a cup of tea in a tent they mounted horses or elephants.

"There were about a dozen of the latter, and perhaps 250 men on horses, and about 300 on foot.

"A long line was formed, and the fields and waste land were beaten for game. We were accompanied by a lot of dogs of sorts, eight hawks, and one lynx ; so we marched for about $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours, the result was one hare mobbed by the men on foot, one hare killed by the lynx, which was carried like a baby till the game was in sight, and two partridges killed by the hawks. Then there was breakfast in tents for the Europeans (four or five ladies and seven or eight men). The Maharajah breakfasted with forty of his nobles in a pavilion near us. At half-past eleven we started to course antelope. At the head of the procession was a cart conveying a cheetah ; we followed in tongas, which are low dog-carts with horses driven curricule fashion. When within 50 yards or so the cheetah was let loose, and in a minute struck down the black buck. When the Maharajah came up the animal's throat was cut. Another cheetah was then sent to the front, and another antelope killed. It requires some skill to approach sufficiently near the herd for the cheetah to be able to spring on the antelope, for he is only fast for a short distance. A good cheetah always selects the black buck the head of the herd. By about 3 p.m. we reached home, after a day of thoroughly Oriental sport, thoroughly shaken in the tongas, for they took us across a very rough country. The hunt is an annual fête and ceremony, and was

very picturesque, but I am satisfied with seeing it once.

“In a few days I am going to Dubka for better sport in the way of pig-sticking. The riding here is very pleasant, for no roads are metalled except those in the town. There are magnificent trees, mangoes, and peepuls and tamarinds. The villages are rich, and the houses well built of bricks and mortar and tiled; such houses denote wealth. Fine tombs adorn the banks of the village lakes. My daughters ride with me in the mornings, and in the afternoons generally play lawn tennis, and during the day I receive visitors of various creeds and colours, and do my reading and writing. We are on our best behaviour, as the Bombay Government, having no better employment for him, have sent a chaplain to watch over us and preach to us. He is very young, and is only to be here a fortnight, so he will do well if he makes as much impression as his pretty little wife!

“The occupants of my appointment, I observe, do not live long to enjoy it. Here is a list of them for a few years; Williams died 1837, Sutherland in 1840, Boyd in 1844, Sir R. Arbuthnot invalided, Andrew died 1847, Outram lived 1847-52, Davies invalided 1853. Seton Kerr officiated till 1854, when Outram returned, and was transferred to Aden, 1854. He was succeeded by Colonel Malcolm. Both Colonel and Mrs. Malcolm died 1855. I think a new Residency was built after that, but the room in which my daughters sleep is the one in which Colonel Phayre was poisoned, and the one they occupied before we went to Quetta was that in which the wife of Colonel Berkeley, another of my predecessors, died two years ago; so if ghosts haunt the place you know why they do so.

“One unfortunate resident who was very popular had two monuments voted to his memory. Both were commended, but some accident occurred to the busts or tablets, and neither memorial is finished nor has even his name on it, and few people know why they exist

in their present state. I shall have his name put on them at any rate."

In April 1890 Sir Harry Prendergast went on short leave to England, and Lady Prendergast accompanied him. The writer arrived in England also about this time, and met him several times, and was present with him at the Royal Engineers' dinner on 14th June at Hôtel Metropole, when H.R.H. The Duke of Cambridge presided, and made an excellent speech. Sir Lintorn Simmons, Sir Lothian Nicholson, and Sir Frederick Chapman also spoke, and about 150 officers sat down to dinner. Sir Harry Prendergast also attended the Duke of Cambridge's levee, and the present writer was there also, and had a few minutes' private conversation with the Duke.

Towards the close of June Sir Harry returned to India, but left Lady Prendergast and his family at home. His journey out was by no means uneventful. Mr. King, brother of Sir Seymour King, K.C.S.I., was one of the passengers, and made up the party for one mess-table, at which Sir Harry sat. Mr. King, however, caught a chill in crossing the Channel, and was not well enough to dine with them once, and eventually died near Aden. He always asked to see Sir Harry when too weak to see other passengers. He was very popular, and his loss saddened the party.

"In the Mediterranean the weather was pleasant. There were cricket matches in the afternoon, and dancing and music were the amusements after dinner; for there were some happy young people amongst us who enjoyed the voyage thoroughly."

On the 9th July a severe accident took place. The *Oriental* was struck by a heavy sea, and several passengers were damaged. Sir Harry "experienced the sensation of being knocked down and washed into the lee-scuppers. Just after I had been dashed against the bulwarks a body floated past me, which proved to be Dr. Cronin, who suffered for three days from concussion of the brain,

and a fortnight after died of cholera. There was a question about concussion of the brain and broken bones in my case, and I was very sore for some days. On arrival at Bombay I was overhauled by a good surgeon, who said that I was sound, but recommended me to go to Poona for a month; but I could not do that," and in August he wrote that he was regaining his strength and doing his work, but that he was looking forward to a rest, as Lord Harris, the Governor of Bombay, had invited him to accept the hospitality of Guneshkhind, his palace near Poona. He duly paid this short visit, as also a week with Sir George Greaves, the Bombay Commander-in-Chief, which much invigorated him.

In a letter to a friend, 13th November 1890, Sir Harry describes what he had to do during the Dussara festival. "On a certain day the Gaekwar goes in state to a celebrated temple, where he first cuts down a small tree, supposed to bear the sins of the people, so that the evil deeds of his people may not increase and multiply; he also strikes the first blow at a buffalo that is then hacked to pieces by his men as a sacrifice to Kali. All the troops and all the courtiers march in procession together with led horses, the band of drummers mounted on elephants, and four or five other bands in which Turkish bells, cymbals, and drums are the leading instruments; then come the heralds preceding the Maharajah, and the Governor-General's agent each on a tall elephant. The howdahs are of gold and silver, and the elephants are kept exactly abreast as we march through the city. The body and legs of my elephant were painted pea-green, but the head and trunk were splendidly decorated with red, gold, and blue; there were large plates of gold as ear-rings, and a silver crescent on his forehead; over the body reaching nearly to the ground was a magnificent sheet of heavy kincob. As we passed the troops, *feu-de-joie* and artillery salutes were fired. It was a tedious progress,

but my daughter, who was in a tent on the line of march, was delighted with the picturesque show. My position in full dress fooling along on an elephant was somewhat cramped, very uncomfortable, but very dignified ! Of course it is not my duty to attend the sacrifice, so I leave the procession and join the ladies when we approach the temple.

“ Now that the cold season has arrived I travel about visiting schools, treasuries, law courts, hospitals, and public works. My daughter enjoys it very much. As there are no roads, we ride to places which are not served by railways. We are now (November 1890) on a visit to Ahmedabad. Mr. James asked us to meet Lord Harris, and we are busy sight-seeing all day, and feasting half the night. The architecture is very curious. The Mohammedan conquerors, four or five centuries ago, caused the Jain builders and stonemasons to construct magnificent tombs and places of worship for them, so the general design is Mohammedan, but the construction and details are all Jain. The climate is so good that the elaborately carved stonework is nearly as perfect as when it was erected. The Commissioner's house is an old Mohammedan palace, very picturesquely situated on the bank of the Sabramuttu River. There are fine tamarind trees around, but an abominable iron railway bridge a quarter of a mile long spans the river close by the Shahar Bagh, and spoils the view on one side.

“ The ‘ Diwali ’ or feast of lanterns is being celebrated here. I wish you could accompany us to-night to a banquet at the Judge's house, and afterwards to see the fireworks on the water, and the illumination of a lovely lake near his house.”

At this time, when he would shortly be placed on the unemployed Supernumerary List of Generals (31st March 1890), he was but fifty-six years of age. It had been thought by many of his friends that he would be appointed Military Member of the Governor-

General's Council, but although it had never before been given to any but an Indian officer, General H. Brackenbury was sent out as a reward for services in the Intelligence Department at the War Office to Lord Salisbury; he had not had much experience of India. This was a disappointment to Sir Harry, and it was now also that he had what he called "my last Burman battle with the authorities," alluding to the Confidential Official account of his campaign, published by the Intelligence Department of the Quartermaster-General in India in 1887, but of which he heard for the first time in 1890 when he was resident at Baroda.

In one of his letters he remarks that "it is a very bad year for game. Baroda is celebrated for quail, but this season there are very few wild duck, snipe, or quail. We do not shoot pea fowl which abound. Occasionally we go to a distance for boar-hunting, but hunting here is unpleasant on account of the prickly hedges which blister the horses. I have just bought a very handsome grey 'Australian,' as I have grown stout, and ride $14\frac{1}{2}$ stone, so little 'Arabs' no longer suit me. He is very gentle, and you would not know him from an English hunter."

Towards the close of the year, Lady Prendergast and her two daughters joined him, and early in the year 1891 he was present at a camp of exercise at Poona as the guest of Sir George Greaves. In a letter, dated 30th January, Baroda, he thus speaks of his visit: "He is an excellent host, brimming over with jokes and good stories; has a stable full of fine horses, the best of which were selected for my use; and an excellent cook! and cellar, so we were able to rough (!) it in camp in good large tents. There were some interesting manœuvres in which he took keen interest, and I was very happy among the troops, and felt almost as if I were a soldier myself! The sappers took a prominent part in the operations, and as I have often been on service with these Bombay Sappers I was glad to see them do well."

Lady Harris asked them all to spend ten days in Bombay. Sir Harry proposed to go for two days, but his daughters were to stay the ten days as there was to be a ball on 10th February. He meantime was going by steamer to Dwarka, where there was a sacred temple of great fame, but his real object was to deal with famine works, for the failure of rain threatened Okamundel with famine.

"His journey included a tempestuous voyage in a foul-smelling steamer of 1000 tons and two very unpleasant trips in stormy weather in a small yacht with a crew composed altogether of natives of India, fortunately brave men and good sailors, but it was a great joy to be landed in the territory of Nowanaggar (now ruled by the celebrated cricketer Rangi-Singhi, the present Jam of Nowanaggar).

"The Jam of Nowanaggar (as the Ruler of the State is called) asked me to dinner. The entertainment commenced with singing and dancing about 6.30 in the afternoon. His Highness and his guests sat in a row; opposite to them were nine dancing girls, the chiefs of whom performed for our delectation. After compliments, the Chief inquired, 'Do you drink champagne? I like Mumm's!'

"Accordingly, glasses were produced, and we all drank a glass. Five minutes later a liqueur was handed round, and I was asked if I liked it. It was rose wine made specially for himself. I politely said that it was very good (with the mental reservation 'for those that like it'), and an attendant was at once told to put a bottle of it in my carriage. It was nearly pure alcohol! Every five minutes glasses were handed round until dinner was announced. On the way to the dining-room we stayed in a corridor to witness a display of fireworks, and then sat down to an excellent French dinner. The Jam was at a table by himself, and the four English guests at a table in front of, but at some distance from, him. A band played during the repast; before we had

discussed the soup, the Jam proposed the health of the Queen, and shortly afterwards I gave 'The Jam.' The dinner occupied very little time, and then His Highness handed me to my carriage. He is a very hospitable and kind old man, devoted to the English, and, so far as he can be, good to every one."

At Rajcote, Sir Harry stayed with the M'Naghtens. "I don't know whether you remember the squire at Rottingdean near Brighton? They are connected with the Chapmans, Sewells, and Probyns. However, Mr. M'Naghten is the Principal of a college for young chiefs and nobles. It is very interesting. The expenses are about the same as at Eton. The boys are drilled as a squadron of cavalry, and are about 40 in number, and some of them have turned out well."

On 1st April 1891, Sir Harry went to Mahableshwar for fresh air. "The station is 100 miles from Bombay, and consists of a dense forest on a hill 5000 feet high, with roads cut through it, and little patches felled and cleared, in each of which is a house and garden. There is a Government House, club and library, tennis courts, golf ground, and racecourse; plenty of ladies and very few men." A few days after his arrival he had an accident which gave him a good deal of trouble.

A fine horse that he had lately bought as a pig-sticker came down with him; "he fell on my left knee, and put his hind foot twice on my left ankle in endeavouring to rise, so I have been tied to my sofa for the last two months; no bones broken, though the doctor says 'if it had happened to any other man five would have been fractured, fortunately mine are hard and tough, and I was under a clever surgeon who was most attentive, seeing me two or three times a day; even now (two months after) I have to devote several hours a day to my leg, and the doctor comes morning and evening, but I can move on crutches.

"At Mahableshwar the houses are very small, and we were uncomfortably crowded, but one day a telegram

from the Foreign Office arrived asking me whether I would go to Mysore for six months as Sir Oliver St. John was wanted in Baluchistan for that time during Sir Robert Sandeman's absence. As Baroda is dreadfully hot and unhealthy during the heat and rains, and I did not know where to send my wife and family, I joyfully accepted the Viceroy's offer, and on 31st May 1891 we arrived in Bangalore."

Miss Prendergast has been kind enough to furnish me with notes of what occurred while they were at Quetta and Baroda, and it will prove interesting to insert extracts from those notes at this point.

"The early part of our stay at Quetta we enjoyed immensely; the climate was perfect. The Residency was small, and the office having been wrecked by an earthquake just before we arrived, my father had his office in a tent. Durbars were held in the Durbar Hall, which was a large room in the grounds close to the house. This was used as a church on Sundays, and for official purposes the rest of the week. Opposite to it was the guard house. These were all in beautiful grounds, the greater portion of which was under cultivation as a fruit and vegetable garden. It was the only garden, as water was a difficulty. The Residency was allowed sixty hours of water a week, whereas others were restricted to two or three hours daily, merely sufficient for house and stables. The Residency garden contained quantities of fruit. When it was first started, Scotch gardeners were sent from home, and they found everything would grow except currants. The gardener had orders daily to bring up six baskets of vegetables which used to be sent to various officers, and once a week a cart of fruit (chiefly apricots, plums, and peaches) with vegetables and forty or fifty bunches of Persian roses were sent to the military hospital. My sister and I used to take a great interest in getting up early to pick the roses and gather the apricots, etc., which were much appreciated by the sick men.

“Quetta, however, was the first place we all went down with fever, and then my father got very ill. It was at this time that we lost our dear sister, Amy (Mrs. Gough), who died on 3rd September 1889, and my father was so ill at this time that he was not told for some time later, as he could not have stood the shock. We had a tremendous send-off from Quetta. As the Mud Gorge (a length of 5 miles, where a narrow valley between precipitous mountains and with a steep longitudinal slope was filled with soil of an exceedingly treacherous nature) was always an uncertainty, we wired to know if it was safe, and if the train was likely to go straight through. However, that evening, just as it was getting dark, the train was pulled up, and the guard came to say that every one had to leave the train, and a train would be found some way down the line. Imagine our horror. We had settled ourselves for a two days' and one night journey in the beautiful double saloon carriage (with servants' compartment and kitchen adjoining); the dinner was almost ready, and little Arthur had been put to bed. On looking out we found that the land had indeed slipped, and several railway carriages were to be seen down a tremendous drop into a stream below. The situation seemed appalling. My father, an invalid, not able to do much walking, had to be turned out of his comfortable carriage just when it was very cold, and walk to a new train. The getting down from these very high carriages was our first difficulty. Fortunately, Mr. Cubitt (son of Colonel Cubitt, V.C.), police officer at Quetta, had travelled with us as a friend, thinking he might be useful, and he soon got boxes placed to form steps, so that we could get down in safety. Our things were removed to the other train, but, being dark, it was very difficult. The servants, with as much of the dinner as could be brought, were put into the luggage van much disgusted. My sister and I were given small quarters, and our parents were in another part of the train and exceedingly uncomfortable.

“Dinner was not served till nearly 10 p.m., the food being handed in through the window, and we all passed a miserably uncomfortable night and had little sleep. The next afternoon my father was down with a bad attack of fever.

“On arriving at Kurrachee, the General and other officers came to receive my father, and when he was told what had happened he kindly took my father in his carriage, and we followed as soon as we could. That night there was a dance at the club, to which we were invited, but we were of course unable to attend. Next day we left in a beautiful steamer of the Hall Line—our compartments on board were palatial. Cabins having been turned into state rooms and drawing-rooms for us. A smooth passage of three days landed us at Bombay, and here the Gaekwar of Baroda had taken us a house on Malabar Point for a month, which was very delightful. Every evening we used to drive down 3 or 4 miles to the Yacht Club and talk to our friends and then drive back. We were not far from ‘The Towers of Silence.’

“Here it was to our great sorrow that we lost one of our beautiful Pegu ponies which we had brought from Rangoon. The syce gave him paddy instead of grain, and he died. They were a very handsome pair of greys, and were originally brought down from Pegu to be sent to England, but they allowed my father to buy them in Rangoon. After a month we returned to Baroda, which was very dull after the large military station of Quetta.

“In the year 1890 we had a three or four days’ visit from the Duke of Clarence, who arrived with a large staff. Sir Edward Bradford, Captain George Holford, Captain Edwardes, and Dr. Jones are the only names I can remember. The Residency was not large, so it was decided that the Duke should have the upper part of the house to himself as being cooler than the down-stair rooms. The reception rooms were also used by

him. The staff, etc., of whom there were some 30 to 40, were all in tents. These large double tents were put up in rows in the grounds, and had gardens round them, lamp posts fixed, flowerpot gardens, etc., and the paths to each were picked out with small coloured lamps. A marquee to hold 100 people as a dining-room, and a similar one for drawing-room, and in these we all lived. The Duke used to invite people to dine, lunch, or breakfast with him in the house. Sir E. and Lady Fremantle were also with us, and were, I believe, attached to the Duke's suite, at anyrate they were very great friends of his, and were oftener in the house than in the tent. My father and mother, of course, took all their meals with the Duke, but once when my mother could not come to lunch I was invited in and sat on the Duke's right. Though generally supposed to be a silent man, we did not find him so. He expressed pleasure at nearing the end of his tour, and he had only to remain with the Governor of Bombay till his steamer left for England. The night of his arrival a dance was given at a summer palace, but to this the Duke did not go. The next night a large dinner and reception was given by the Gaekwar; this he attended. On the third night there was, I think, a large dinner at the Residency.

"Throughout the days different ceremonies had to be got through and places of interest visited; and for the last time the Gaekwar opened his arena for bull fighting for which the State had been so famous. One accident happened in which a native in the crowd was badly hurt, and the Duke sent down his doctor to see to him; also by some mistake the only gate from the arena into the street was not properly guarded, and the infuriated bull dashed into the town.

"The whole of the Gaekwar's army was paraded one day, and on every other occasion lined the routes from the Residency to wherever H.R.H. the Duke of Clarence might be going.

"The Duke was very fond of children, and so Arthur

received a great deal of attention from him ; and the child never passed Queen Victoria's picture without bowing to it, which greatly took the Duke's fancy. The Duke spoke a great deal about his mother (Queen Alexandra) and his brother (the present King George), and looked forward immensely to meeting them again.

"This camp was kept standing, and our next visitor was the Czarowitch (the present Czar), and during his stay even greater precautions were taken to clear the neighbourhood of any undesirables. One curious man, who was a harmless lunatic, thought he was the Commander-in-Chief, and used to wait for my father when going out riding, and would then appeal with a telegraph form, saying, 'he had orders from the Queen.' He was dressed in officer's white uniform, and with General's feathers, and occasionally would come into the verandahs and wait his chance of speaking to my father, and often startled us greatly. He was cleared off never to make his appearance again. The Postal and Telegraph Department was placed in charge of a European for the time being, and in fact every precaution adopted. The Czarowitch had a very large staff, amongst whom was Sir Donald Wallace who had married a Russian lady. The usual round of sight-seeing was done, and visits to and from the Gaekwar. A day's shooting was also arranged, which came to rather an abrupt ending, owing to one of the staff mistaking the Czarowitch for a deer behind a clump of long grass. Other visitors at this time were Lord and Lady Jersey, Sir Arthur and Lady Hayter, Sir H. Seymour King, to whose brother my father was very attentive when he was ill on board ship in 1890 (he was head of the firm in Bombay, and died near Aden on his way out to Bombay).

"Baroda, being a place full of interest for the sight-seer, and only a night's run from Bombay, it was not unusual to get a letter from the Governor asking us to put up people, and show them all we could, in fact we became almost like professional guides, taking them over

the old palaces and showing the Gaekwar's wonderful pearls and other State jewels, and the gold and silver guns which had been at the Delhi assemblage driven by fine 17-hand bullocks, the arenas, the elephant lines, and the new palace, now being furnished by Mr. R. Chisholm (designed by the late Major Charles Mant of the Bombay Engineers), also the hospital and college. There was also a State railway, and we were occasionally invited to go out for a picnic where good duck shooting was to be had. Tiger shooting was within easy reach of Baroda. I was most anxious to go out. On one occasion three had been marked down for one of the Younghusbands, who asked us to come out. It was a great temptation, but, on the other hand, we were shortly going home to England, and the Gaekwar had got up a pig-sticking party which we felt we were bound to attend, and very good sport it was—no end of pig. Some thirty of us went out, and lived under canvas, though we had our meals in a bungalow, which was occupied by our parents and little Arthur. The Gaekwar also had a camp at some little distance. Very jolly it used to be, all mounted, starting about 4.30 a.m., and when we got near the ground, parties of four were formed to ride, whilst the rest of us looked on and rode out of harm's way.

“We had two of these pleasant pig-sticking parties during our stay in Baroda. I omitted to mention that Sir George Greaves, then Commander-in-Chief at Bombay, came to us when inspecting the regiment commanded by Colonel Sir Reginald Hennell (now of the Honourable Corps of Gentlemen-at-Arms, who served in Abyssinia, Afghan Campaign, and in Burma Expedition, 1885-87, and obtained his D.S.O.).

“By our great misfortune we lost our visitors' book, which started the day we arrived in Burma, and went on to the day we left India, and in which all the people who visited us signed their names. In 1890 we went home, my father having three months' leave. On his

return to India we remained at home. During the voyage out my father, owing to bad weather, had a severe accident on board ship. On hearing of this my mother was anxious to go out to him, but as she had urgent business connected with the children's schooling, etc., it was arranged that I should go. We had a calm and uneventful voyage. I met my father in Bombay; we went on to Baroda together, and I kept house for him, which I greatly enjoyed. My mother and Ella after came out, and arrived at Bombay on Christmas Day, 1890, and they were entertained for ten or twelve days by Sir John Hext, R.N., who had served in Burma in 1885-86, and was at that time Director of Indian Marine at Bombay. My first experience of camp life was in the district rounds. A week or ten days at a time always riding, to which I was devoted.

"One time my father and I went to stay with Mr. and Mrs. Cooke at Kaira—they were expecting Lord Harris, the Governor of Bombay, and Staff; we helped to entertain their guests, and then the whole party went to Ahmedabad, staying with Sir Evan James for the best part of a week, during which time there was innumerable sight-seeing to be done. Lord Harris, not long out from England, was keen to see all the Jain temples and carvings for which the city is so celebrated. Every evening there were large banquets given in some far-away picturesque old palace. Mornings were spent in rides to see some celebrated place at some distance, and in this way time passed most pleasantly.

"During 1891 Ella and I went to stay with Lord and Lady Harris at Government House, and had six dances a week, and plenty of other festivities. My father had stayed with them just before, and found them very charming—but had to continue his tour to visit Nowanagar, Junagurh, and Morvi. Most of these rajahs presented him with large photos of themselves, and one was celebrated for his rose wine, and sent us a bottle, which we were afraid to taste!"

The journey to Bangalore was rather tedious; first 40 miles in a phaeton, 12 to 15 miles of the road down steep hills, and then about forty hours in the train. "The Gaekwar was coming to Bangalore and Mysore, on his way to the Neilgherries, so I (Sir Harry) accompanied him in his special train. The first evening the Maharani of Kolapore gave the Gaekwar an entertainment, and a banquet to the English officers and ladies travelling. I could not leave the railway carriage; but the Lord Chamberlain was entrusted with the care of me, and in addition to the dinner served to the English guests, he brought me pretty messages from the Maharani, and dishes prepared by her own fair hands for the Gaekwar and myself." "After he entered Mysore territory in which the Gaekwar was a guest, all the stations were decorated and illuminated, so we had festive days and nights. Many of my old friends were at the station to meet me, though the train was nearly two hours after time, and it was pleasant to be so warmly welcomed; but there are three newspapers published daily in Bangalore, that have nothing better to do than to speak evil of the authorities, so I am always kept well posted regarding the other side of every question.

"The horses were so restive at the station owing to the crowds, that I could not get into the carriage sent for me, and had to be carried in a palanquin; fortunately the Maharani's conveyance was there, and in the East it is not undignified to be carried in a litter covered with cloth of gold, though it is a slow and undesirable means of progress." Only a few days after his arrival he heard by telegram that Sir Oliver St. John had died the previous day (4th June) of influenza and pneumonia. He was grieved to hear of it. In one of his letters he remarks: "He was full of ambition, and the appointment in Baluchistan was the one that he desired, and when he left this he seemed in excellent health. Lady St. John and the daughters were on the hills, and are coming here to-morrow (10th June 1891). I am not acquainted with

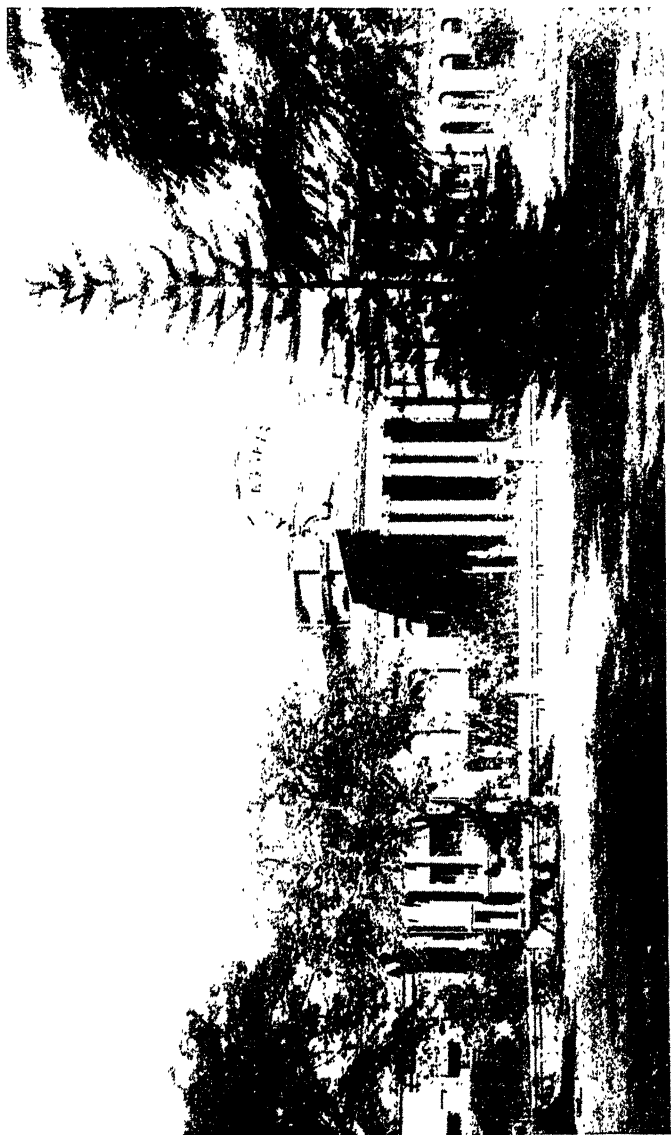
them, but am very sorry for them under this severe trial."

About this time Major Grant obtained the V.C. for his brave conduct at Manipur, and Sir Harry in his letter says, "Major Grant, V.C., now famous for his conduct in Manipur, was with me at Mandalay; he was then remarkable for his love of fighting. I wrote him a short note as soon as the telegram told of his prowess, and his reply shows that he is modest and unassuming as ever."

"My daughter F. was overwhelmed with invalids at Mahableshtar. She is a famous nurse, and, in addition to human beings, was then much engaged with a sick horse and an apparently moribund dog — now her patients are better and nearly well!"

It was a pleasure to Sir Harry to find himself among old friends at Bangalore and to reoccupy the comfortable residency, and he found the work also agreeable. The Maharajah was glad of his return. In his notes Sir Harry remarked: "In every Oriental Court there is much intrigue, but at Mysore the dealings with the British Government were straightforward, and every word that the Maharajah said could be trusted. When I was a political officer elsewhere, on one occasion a gentleman called on me when I had a group of native officials with me; he was shown into the room. He told me that he was going to visit Bangalore and Mysore, so I gave him such information as he wanted, and concluded by saying, 'You will like the Maharajah; he is a gentleman.'

"One of the courtiers afterwards asked me what I meant when I said that the Maharajah of Mysore was a gentleman, to which I replied that 'the Maharajah speaks the truth, and that I could always depend upon what he said.' The wily Brahmin was much astonished, and evidently thought lightly of me as a diplomatist!" "The concluding days of the Dussara are always days of festivity at Mysore. The rajah and the Resident always invited large parties for the week, and there was horse



VIEW OF THE RESIDENCY AT BANGALORE.

racing and polo, golf, dancing, and feasting for the Britishers, and solemn ceremonies for the Hindoo.

“At this time occurred the session of the Mysore Assembly, presided over by the Dewan, at which representative ryots and citizens discussed the affairs of the nation. At the last Dussara Assembly at which I was present, a Britisher who represented the coffee interests prevailed on the other representatives to tell him what they proposed to bring forward at the Assembly; he then took great trouble to condense all that they had said, and then he made a very long speech purporting to contain all that the ryots had to say. The speech was well delivered, and the Minister replied to it, but a very large proportion of the representatives when they heard what had been said, utterly repudiated the spokesman, and his sentiments! But it is curious that a man who is married to the daughter of a British Peer, and intends to sit in the British Parliament, should sit as a ryot and representative of ryots in the Mysore Assembly.

“On one day of the Dussara week, prizes are distributed to the students at the Maharani's school; this is a most interesting establishment, specially patronized by the Maharani; none but children of high caste are admitted. The girls are well taught, music is included in the course of instruction, and several of the girls are proficient in singing, and playing in the Vina, besides learning their own language and arithmetic. This school is the first of its kind, and men of education begin to inquire for suitable wives at the Mysore school, and some have found suitable partners.

“The Resident of Mysore is the Government of the civil and military station of Bangalore. In that capacity the most important measures passed lately were the reduction by nearly one-half of the licences for selling liquor, the number of licences being unnecessarily great. Many complaints were made of the beer manufactured, and sold in Bangalore, but no case could be made out by those who stated that the beer

was drugged, and it is difficult to legislate about beer because there is no recognized definition of what beer is. I remember hearing my children their lessons some years ago, and in answer to the question, 'What is beer made of?' one used to answer, 'Mops and hops,' the other accepted the statement in the book, 'Malt and hops,' but apparently a brewer is not compelled to restrict himself to any of these ingredients, or even to use them.

"An attempt was made during my first tenure of office to solve the problem how Bangalore was to be supplied with water, a question that had been under discussion for forty years. Lord Connemara, the Governor of Madras, and his chief engineer had their say in the matter. I had not committed myself further than by giving my opinion that the Maligal project was the one which would give the purest supply of water of all the schemes for storing water within ten miles of Bangalore, but the water supply had not been taken in hand by an expert appointed for the purpose; and it was impossible to give a trustworthy opinion till an engineer had gone thoroughly into the matter, and made special surveys. The three parties concerned were the Madras Government for the supply of the troops, the Mysore Government for the supply of the pettah and as owner of the gathering grounds, and the Resident of Mysore for the supply of the civil and military station. Sir Oliver St. John, who succeeded me, was averse to having a combined project, so, apparently, were the governments of Madras and Mysore. On my return to Bangalore, I found that the Rechanhalli project had been approved by a committee consisting of Sir Oliver St. John, Colonel Tompkins, chief engineer Military Works Dept., and Colonel Bowen, chief engineer of Mysore. St. John at the time knew nothing of the country; Tompkins is an administrator, and never even went to look at the place I was told; and Bowen was the representative of

Mysore, knew the country well, had his own projects more or less developed for the supply of the pettah, and had no fault to find with a project that would yield water to the civil and military station and troops, and that would not interfere with the sources from which he would bring in water to the pettah."

"The Rechanhalli project was a remarkably bad one, and Major-General Lovett, C.B., C.S.I., R.E., when he came down to Bangalore arranged that Major Grant, R.E., should survey and report on the Maligal project. A day or two before I left Mysore, Major Grant gave an account of what he had done, and explained to representatives of the civil and military station, sanitary officers, the chief engineers, and other representatives of Mysore, at the Residency, his Maligal scheme, and I invited each of the gentlemen present to make remarks and ask questions on the subject. I have heard that it was intended to accept the Maligal project, and that Mysore intended to supply the pettah from a reservoir to be constructed below the Hessarghatta Tank, but that Lord Lansdowne preferred to have a combined water supply for troops, station, and pettah to bring the water from Hessarghatta. A report of the Hessarghatta Tank and project had been made by Colonel Vibart, R.E., in 1888, but the distance from Bangalore and the cost were too great for its adoption unless it was determined to supply troops, station, and pettah from that source. I always liked the scheme, but only the Viceroy could compel Madras and the municipality to accept it if on careful investigation it is found to be trustworthy. It has at least ten times as large a catchment basin as any of the other proposed reservoirs."

Sir Harry made the following remarks about the police at Bangalore: "The drill and manœuvring power, not as soldiers, but as policemen of the Bangalore Police was an object of interest to me, and new regulations proposed by Mr. Fawcett, the superintendent, and

Colonel Weldon, C.I.E., were introduced. I also had the police instructed by an expert in the arts of taking prisoners ; they were taught various grips ; how to hit a man with a truncheon without killing him, how to seize a man skilfully, and to trip him up scientifically. It is very important in a country where the police are not chosen, on account of size, strength, and pluck, so to train them that they may be more than a match for ruffians physically superior to them."

The accident to his ankle and knee continued to give him much trouble for some months. On 5th October he wrote : " My ankle is better, and my knee has assumed almost its natural form. A few days ago I stumbled over a door lintel, and broke some adhesion, and so let the patella loose ; it was painful at the moment, but did me a world of good. I now go out riding on a quiet pony every morning, and play golf of the mildest description occasionally in my own grounds. There are advantages in being lame, for I never had patience to learn golf before ; even now I am not an enthusiast." Mysore had been threatened with a water famine, but at the close of September there was considerable rain, and the tanks throughout the country were nearly full, and so every one was in high spirits. They had had races both at Mysore and Bangalore, a great rifle meeting, and after an assault-at-arms, early in October. At the rifle meeting he made a speech in which he manfully spoke up for the Madras Army, to encourage the officers and men. It had lately been badly snubbed, and this he thought unjust.

On 10th October they went to the Dussara festivities at Mysore, when they had a house party of eighteen. The Durbar at the palace was a solemn function. " We went in a State carriage with four white horses, escorted by a squadron of cavalry ; near the fort gate the Bedra pikemen, with bamboo spears 12 feet long, plated with silver, ran beside the carriage ; and as we neared the palace regiments of cavalry and infantry presented

arms. At the steps of the palace the chief officers met us on the stairs, the Prime Minister showed the way to the Durbar Hall, in which, between rows of courtiers who faced inwards, we met the Maharajah. After a few words with him he took his seat on the throne after scattering flowers upon it. The curtain that hid the hall from the multitudes below was thrown aside as we approached the throne. I sat on the right, and the other guests on chairs facing the palace square. The square is about 100 yards broad by 160 long, and was very picturesque, regiments of infantry and cavalry being drawn up on both sides, and at the far end the cavalry performed musical rides, and there were wrestlers and acrobats, fencers and sword players, and fireworks and balloons; so we passed an hour. The Rajah sat in state in splendid raiment weighed down with heavy jewellery—quite silent. This sitting in state is the recognition of his sovereignty; whilst on the throne he is looked on as a demi-god by the populace who throng the square and the building encompassing it. It really is an imposing sight. All go in full dress; the British guests sit on the right of the throne, the Durbaris and natives of rank and position on the left. Such is the visit of the Representative of Government to the Maharajah."

On the 15th December 1891 we find him down at Madras. He says in a letter written at that time: "It is a good thing to be lame for seven or eight months, it makes a man contented with very little, if he can only move about. I am under treatment by an expert masseur, and he is doing me much good." He had been to a ball at the Banqueting Hall, given by Lord and Lady Wenlock, when he had the honour of taking Lady Wenlock into supper, and "this entailed walking down the great hall, and then ascending a very long staircase to the supper. It was a great feat to conduct her safely to the supper and back to the dais without touching the balustrade."

On this occasion he also paid a brief visit to Pondicherry.

In a letter of December 1891 Sir Harry describes a delightful trip he took, at the invitation of the Maharajah, to Kakankota, near the border of Mysore close to Malabar. It is situated on the Cubbany River, and is by road about 50 miles from Mysore to the south-west.

“My secretary and I drove out with a Lancer escort to the Camp, two days after we were warned that a herd of wild elephants had walked into a big enclosure that had been prepared for them. Next morning we drove a mile from Camp to see the great brutes wandering about as if free in a beautiful forest of big trees and clumps of bamboos 60 feet high, we being safely divided from them by a parapet and ditch. In the afternoon we returned to witness the drive; about 1000 beaters were placed round the great ‘Surround’ as the enclosure is termed technically.

“The men used little wooden clappers to frighten the elephants, the object being to drive them by a narrow pass, close to where we were sitting, into a small pen. Some of the animals grew savage, and it seemed as if mischief would result when they trumpeted and charged towards the beaters; but the men just tapped their little clappers and the great savages would turn away frightened. The movements of the herd and crashing among the trees continued, but at last one cow elephant dashed past us and tried to pull down the strong palisade of the ‘Surround,’ but a charge of snipe-shot sufficed to dissuade her from coming towards us. After fires had been lighted behind them, the frightened herd dashed along the path to the small pen, and when the whole herd (fifteen) had entered it, the door was let down as in a rat trap, and we mounted the galleries round the trap to see the prisoners. It was too late to do more that day, so we went to Camp, and did not wander far in the dark as there were other wild elephants around; one of them was a well-known

'rogue' that killed a man last year. Two men were walking on the road, the elephant saw them; one jumped into the ditch alongside, the other tried to run away, but the elephant caught him up and killed him at once.

"No elephant will attempt to cross a ditch 8 feet wide and 8 feet deep, and a very small cut is generally enough to stop one. On the morrow nine tame, trained elephants, each ridden by a man, were sent into the elephant trap; the most savage of the wild elephants was surrounded by the tame animals, two pressing against his sides so that he could not stir, then a mahout would dismount and hobble the hind feet of the wild elephant thus surrounded. The hobbles consist of rope about 12-in. in circumference, and were attached to equally strong ropes secured round a big tree.

"Soon the surrounding elephants would leave him tied by the heels to the tree; then his wrath was terrible. He would scream and trumpet, and throw himself about in an agony of rage, but after a time would accept the inevitable and be quiet. Each of the wild animals in turn was thus treated and tied up. Then a very strong halter or lasso or noose was put round the head of each victim, the same rope being passed round the body of one or more tame elephants. At a signal the tree ropes were slacked, and in some cases the hobbles also, and the prisoners were marched out in procession to the water, which was a river about 300 yards from the trap; there were spare trained elephants acting as policemen, and ready to attack any rioters. It was a strange scene when the elephants wild and tame were disporting themselves in the beautiful Cubanny River below us. Unfortunately two of the captives were so troublesome that it was found necessary to shoot them afterwards, but the survivors were estimated to be worth £100 each on an average. The curious fact is that the elephants never attack the man riding the trained elephants so long as he sits still; if he attempts to stand up, the wild one will try to get at him. The

whole undertaking seems as simple and safe as possible when conducted by skilled operators. Mr. Sanderson (who has written a book about the wild beasts of India) was in charge of the undertaking. The place where the Kheddahs are was notoriously feverish, but Sanderson set up a goddess named 'Mastogudi,' and built a cottage for himself and barracks for his men around it, and keeps the lamp burning night and day before the 'goddess,' who protects the place, hence no fever has visited the village or the beaters during the last two years!

"You can imagine nothing more luxurious or picturesque than this expedition. Mr. Sanderson lived on Observatory Hill in a pavilion whence he could watch and communicate with the trackers whose business it was to watch the herds of elephants. The river swept at the distance of a mile or so round two sides of the hill; so if straight lines were cut through the forest from the pavilion to the river he could see the elephants pass the lines, and by lighting fires all along the lines he could prevent the elephants from breaking back; and as the fords in the river were known, he could drive them or let them go by themselves in the required direction. One camp was on the left bank of the river, so was 'Mastogudi,' and the road to Mysore; Observatory Hill was on the right bank. We were in connection by telephone with Observatory Hill, with 'Mastogudi,' with Hunsur 30 miles off, and so with the rest of the world. I received my Reuter's messages two or three times a day from London in this way, though I could not send a messenger to 'Mastogudi' at night on account of the wild elephants. Our party consisted of about half a dozen English gentlemen and the Maharajah and eight or ten of his principal native officials. Provisions were sent daily from Mysore, 50 miles distant. Ice and sea fish, 230 miles, from Madras; oranges came from Coorg; grapes from Kabul. Among my new experiences was whist-playing with Orientals. I took a hand with the Maharajah

one day, his Prime Minister, and a member of Council. I am not a good whist player, but whenever the Rajah and I were partners we won, and this was a good omen. The Rajah is a polite little gentleman; he is not above talking and thinking of other things during his whist, and is not solemn enough for the game; he is now on a visit to Madras in order to give his children sea air. We have paid visits to the Governor, and received visits in return. His Highness drives very well, and has brought with him a brown team and a chestnut team for his coach, and a few riding horses." After the elephant-catching trip they took a short tour through Coorg, and enjoyed beautiful scenery. He visited Mercara as Chief Commissioner of Coorg, and was able to obtain funds for the construction and maintenance of roads. He also approved of Mr. Perrin's project for the water supply of Mercara. "A project for water supply had been suggested before, but was laid aside as being expensive and not absolutely necessary; but as one of the leading Coorgs was prepared to subscribe Rs.25,000 on condition that the works were named after his father, and another subscribed Rs.5000, and the municipality could afford Rs.6000 or Rs.7000, and certain of the merchants would give Rs.5000 among them, it was evident that the Coorgs earnestly wished for good water, and it was fair to ask Government to assist them. As I was returning from inspecting the site of the reservoir with the Commissioner and other officials, the Commissioner stopped a minute to speak to an ill-dressed man who was sitting on a mat in the bazaar with a few vegetables, probably not worth more than a few shillings—for sale. When the Commissioner rejoined me he said that the old man had promised Rs.2000 for the water supply. When I expressed astonishment he assured me that he was a money-lender, and that he could be thoroughly relied on. The sum that it was necessary to obtain was forthcoming, and the work has been commenced.

“ I had many proofs of the liberality of the Coorgs when I visited Virajendrapett (16 miles south of Mercara). It was my pleasing duty to open a commodious and handsome library presented to the municipality by a Subadar. Next day two old Coorg ladies came to ask permission to cut down trees in a certain sacred wood to supply timber for the roof of a rest-house for travellers that they proposed to erect ; they explained that they had built one rest-house for travellers, but a new road having been opened, traffic had changed its route, and their rest-house was seldom used, and now they wanted to do good by building a chattrum in a place where it was much needed.

“ The Coorgs are tall, well-bred looking people, many of the men and women very handsome. Their dress is serviceable and picturesque, consisting of turban, long tunic drawn in at the waist by swordbelt, in which are carried one or more handsomely mounted daggers ; and they wear English stockings and shooting boots. In appearance they somewhat resemble Rajputs. They are fond of shooting ; their national dance, in which nearly a hundred men will join, is very graceful, and the richest and proudest of the Coorgs mingle in it, while the pretty and handsomely dressed girls watch it from a distance. “ Coorg girls are not married before the age of eighteen. As the scenery is beautiful I often marched my stages on foot. Certain officials had to be with me in Camp, and I used to tell them they might ride or drive, that I would see them at the next camp at such an hour ; they would always say, ‘ Are we not mountaineers ? ’ and accompany me on foot.”

In the year 1837 (three years after the war) when Captain Le Hardy was their Superintendent, the Coorgs greatly assisted the British Government, and on one occasion took from the enemy a quantity of spoil, the result of a successful attack on the British. This they gave voluntarily to the British Superintendent, and



COORG CHIEFS.

would not keep any of it or accept compensation, but begged that they might be honoured with other distinctions. Consequently they were rewarded with Jaghir lands to a great extent, and pensions for three generations, with horses, gold, and silver medals. Four gold medals with gold chains, a few gold medals without chains, were given to the chiefs, 200 silver medals to men of lower standing, and cloths to the private soldiers in memory of the event. "The 'Coorg medal' in gold weighs 7 tolas without, and $11\frac{1}{2}$ tolas with, the chain, and is 2 inches in diameter. On one side it represents a Coorg warrior in fighting attitude, and on the other it shows round a wreath which encircles the Coorg Knives—the Picha Katti and the Odii Katti—the following inscription in English, 'For distinguished conduct and loyalty to the British Government—Coorg. April 1837.'"

The same inscription is given in Canarese on the reverse side. During the mutiny in Bengal in 1857 the Coorgs enjoyed the confidence of the Local Government to such a degree that, after the suppression of the rebellion, General Sir Mark Cubbon, the Chief Commissioner, issued to them the following notification in English and Canarese, bearing at its head a medallion representing a Coorg in full warrior costume:—

"26th February 1861.

"In consideration of the exalted honour, loyalty, and intrepidity, characteristic of this little Nation of Warriors, and in recollection of its conspicuous services in aid of the British Government, it is my pleasing duty to notify hereby, for general information, in virtue of the power vested in me by the Government of India, that the provisions of the Act commonly called the *Disarming Act* are not applicable to the gallant people of Coorg.

(Signed)

"M. CUBBON,
Commissioner."

Major-General Fred. Brine, Royal Engineers, asked Sir Harry Prendergast to obtain for him one of the gold medals given in 1837. "The Commissioner of Coorg said he thought the only chance of obtaining one was in the case of the family of one of the recipients having died out, and after inquiring for medals for three months, he declared that no Coorg would on any account, or for any money, part with a medal.

"Military feeling and military pride is strong among these fine fellows, the difficulty is to utilize them. They dislike leaving their own mountains, but profess eagerness to join in any war; they consider themselves superior to the sepoy, and could not live even in Coorg on sepoy's pay. At one time there was a talk of enrolling them as volunteers, and the Coorgs of the highest rank and position were anxious to join, but some one objected to natives being admitted to the volunteers (although young Burmans were in the Cadet Companies of Dr. Mark's school at Rangoon during the Burman War), and some one objected to turbans being worn by volunteers. The subject was dragged out and reported on occasionally for about ten years, and the Coorgs were tired of being fooled.

"I held a Durbar, at which a great number of Coorgs were present, to discuss the matter with them, and came to the conclusion that they would not serve as ordinary sepoys, and would not enlist in a regiment of Coorgs. I explained that fighting had become a fine art, and that science was required, that mobs were useless, and that to enable them to take a part in war it would be necessary to learn the modern system of warfare. One wealthy Coorg said that he would bring 400 volunteers from his own estate if I wished it. They saw the necessity of being taught and commanded by British officers, and I found that two eminently efficient volunteer officers would accept commissions in a Coorg Company. If one Coorg could and would bring 400 men, others would do the same, and the question became a very

large one; and I submitted it to the Government of India, recommending that they should retain the national dress, which is very handsome and thoroughly serviceable.

“Many of the Coorgs have grown rich by the cultivation of coffee, and it would be very good for the younger sons of these men to have some occupation and learn a little discipline. There are at present no troops in Coorg. There is a treasury guard of Coorgs at Mercara, and a few Coorgs have joined the police. The only duty that they actually are bound to perform is to turn out to quell riots, and it is only the ‘Jumma’ Ryots, who hold their lands on condition of performing this service, who have to turn out. The cost to Government of maintaining a volunteer is trifling, and it seems a pity that a race of men who are just spoiling for a fight are not prepared in time of peace to render service in time of war, considering that good men for the ranks are not easily to be obtained in the Madras Presidency. Even if they be not sent abroad, they would be invaluable as a reserve. *A propos* of riots, it may be noted that the Coorg volunteers turned out to dispose of a riot at Virajandrapett in a most satisfactory manner.”

The Revenue Survey of Coorg was commenced when Sir Harry Prendergast was Chief Commissioner. It has already been pointed out that Sir Harry took a keen interest in the water supply of Bangalore and Mercara when he was Resident at Mysore, so it will be interesting to note also that when he was Resident at Baroda he similarly interested himself with great advantage in the supply of water for Baroda.

I have received several communications from Mr. Playford Reynolds, a civil engineer, who was at the time at Baroda engaged in reorganising the Public Works Department of the State, and had lately completed his project for the supply of Baroda by means of a dam on the Vishmanutri River, some 13 miles distant from

Baroda to the north-east, and nearly 3 miles long. Mr. Reynolds remarks: "When I called on him officially, he was good enough to go through the whole of the details with me, being especially careful to see whether my provision for passing off floods was sufficient, and though I made no alteration in my provision in that respect, I had many hints from him which helped me considerably in working out minor details. With regard to the flood-water provision, he agreed with me that my plan was sound. What surprised me on that occasion was that though, as far as I knew, he had not had experience of the kind necessary to qualify him to be a judge in such matters, his criticisms of that and other details showed me that he had a thorough grasp of a civil engineer's work." "I am reminded of another interesting point with regard to Sir Harry. Some time after relinquishing the Burmese War command he was appointed Resident at Bangalore, which was a first-class Residency. At that time Sir Oliver St. John was Resident at Baroda, a second-class Residency. Sir Oliver, who was senior to Sir Harry in the political department, made a claim on Mysore, and as a result (having served 16 years in the department) he got Bangalore, and Sir Harry was transferred to Baroda. What I have to say about him in that respect is that never once did Sir Harry complain that his pay (in consequence of the change) had been reduced, as it was, from Rs. 3500 to Rs. 2500 a month. On the contrary, he said to me that he considered himself very lucky to have Rs. 2500 a month! Such modesty in a man of his deserts, and such unselfishness, though probably not surprising in him, certainly would be most surprising generally, and not to be met with in one out of a hundred cases!"

Mr. Reynolds in a further communication calls attention to the fact "that at Rangoon in 1885 Sir Harry inspected the barges in which his munitions of war were to be towed up the Irrawaddy, and found the barge decks so flimsy that his guns would, but for his

foresight, have smashed them, and would probably have gone through the bottom into the bed of the river. By simple means he had the deck beams duly strengthened. Again he had ambulance stretchers made with bamboo poles and split bamboo mats or screens. These were stored under the decks, and were ready not only for use as stretchers, but were strong enough to form, with bamboo supports sunk in the muddy river-bed, gangways for troops in case of necessity for disembarkation on the river banks."

He also alluded to his foresight in making himself acquainted with the country, and the details of forts which would have to be attacked, and to his promptitude in his advancing on the very day he received orders to commence the war, so that he was able to capture Mandalay and King Thebaw in a fortnight after the commencement of the war, and, finally, he adds that "he was most modest and simple, though he might well have shown pride of his *thoroughness*, which I found most useful to me about 1887 in preparing the plans for the Baroda Waterworks, the supply of water to which city of 120,000 inhabitants had proved an insoluble problem for many years."

And now we approach the time when Sir Harry Prendergast bade farewell to India, for on the 15th April 1892 he left Bangalore for Bombay *en route* to England, having been relieved of the responsible position of Resident at the Court of Mysore and Chief Commissioner of Coorg. It seems desirable at this point to summarize his services, and this cannot be done in a better way than by entering here the best part of an article written at that time in the foremost Madras paper, *The Madras Mail*, 16th April 1892.¹

"One of the best soldiers that India has seen for the last half century will be leaving her shores a few days hence, for General Sir Harry Prendergast has closed the long record of brilliant services rendered to

¹ This is made use of with the consent of the Editor.

Queen and country, and will shortly sail for home. He recently went to Mysore to take farewell of His Highness the Maharajah of Mysore, and yesterday he left Bangalore for Bombay *en route* to England. Much as his departure will be regretted all over India, it is particularly in this Presidency, and by the Madras Army—with which he has been connected for so many years, and upon which he has conferred such lustre—that his loss will be most deeply felt. Joining that army as second lieutenant of Engineers in 1854, he has served with it through some of its most glorious episodes, and gained, perhaps more than any other man now in India, its enthusiastic devotion and respect. His ‘baptism of fire’ was very early undergone, for, with only two years’ service to his credit, he went through the Persian campaign of 1856–57, from which Sir James Outram, the ‘Bayard of the East,’ was recalled by the outbreak of the Bengal Mutiny, and through which also passed Sir Herbert Macpherson, a late lamented Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Army, then adjutant of the gallant 78th Highlanders. Returning with them, and many another hero, to India, Lieutenant Prendergast was twice severely wounded, and once had his horse shot under him, during the upheaval of 1857–58; was mentioned in despatches, and worthily received the small bronze cross ‘For Valour,’ which every soldier would so gladly win. Five years later found him captain and brevet major; and the highly successful Abyssinian campaign of 1867–68, in which the Madras Sappers took a conspicuous part, brought him another mention in dispatches, a third medal, and a brevet lieutenant-colonelcy. He shortly afterwards succeeded to the command of the corps, and in 1878 sailed with that portion of it which, together with the 25th Madras Infantry, under Colonel (now Major-General) Gib, C.B., formed a part of Lord Beaconsfield’s astute demonstration to Malta. Constantinople was at that time threatened, and it seemed likely that the Muscovites

would put an end for once and all to the sufferings of the 'Sick Man'; but the appearance of the British Fleet in the Dardanelles, and of the Indian contingent at Malta, together with the exhausted state of his own army, induced the Czar to avoid the arbitrament of war with England, and our soldiers, sadly disappointed, returned to cantonments.

"Colonel Prendergast next acted as Quartermaster-General of the Madras Army, and after that, as secretary to the Local Government in the Military Department. In 1880 he was posted to the command of the western district, moving next year to the ceded districts. In 1883 he was given the British Burma Division, and in 1884 the Hyderabad Subsidiary Force. In all of these situations this distinguished officer, by his professional activity and personal urbanity, earned the enthusiastic esteem of all ranks under him, and he is affectionately remembered at Secunderabad to this moment by the legend which asserts how the alarm gun once went at that great cantonment, and whilst cavalry, artillery, infantry, and sappers all fell in, wondering 'what was up,' the astounded *budmashes*¹ of the adjacent native city cleared for the districts, and the officials of His Highness the Nizam enjoyed unwonted repose for at least a fortnight. Another (really) 'true story' recounts that whilst at Bellary he had once ordered the same alarming tocsin to sound at an early hour of the morning. The devoted garrison went to bed unconscious of the treat in store for them; not so their General. After an uneasy night passed in the momentary expectation of being aroused by his servant, that faithful domestic awoke his master. It was dark, and the outside atmosphere uninviting; but the General dressed and stoically waited for the expected call. For some reason, however, this was never given, and the only man who had his rest broken that eventful night was the gallant officer who had planned the

¹ Bad characters.

surprise, and who would afterwards good-humouredly tell the tale against himself. These are small matters, but even 'as straws indicate the direction of the wind, so it is little things that serve to rivet the bonds of affection between a commander and his subordinates.

"In 1885 war was declared with Thebaw, the puppet Monarch of Mandalay, and, to the delight of the army, General Prendergast was given command of the Expeditionary Force destined to sail up the Irrawaddy for the capture of the Burmese capital. The troops composing this force were rapidly dispatched from Calcutta and Madras for Rangoon, and on the 14th November 1885 the General started from Prome with one brigade of Bengal and two of Madras Infantry, with an accompaniment of artillery. Every one knows that the ostensible cause of the outbreak of hostilities was the levying of a large fine by the Burmese King upon the Bombay Burma Trading Company for some alleged breach of contract. Every one has read of the successful advance of General Prendergast's flotilla up the river. Few, possibly, are aware that the real reason for the expedition was the alliance of the French with our Burmese neighbours; fewer still, probably, that a Treaty was actually signed at Rome on the 23rd November 1885 between the French and Burmese representatives. It was then too late for their purposes. General Prendergast, pushing ardently forward, was at Mandalay on the 28th—three days after the ratification of the Treaty; the next day the palace was in our hands, and a few days later Thebaw and his escort were being conveyed to Rangoon on their way to banishment in India. The dash and completely successful arrangements of this movement upon the hostile capital have been universally admitted. A finer piece of action ensued which has not had equal justice done to it. As soon as the troops were cantoned in Mandalay, information reached the General that Chinese bands were going to take advantage of the prevailing

anarchy and cross the border. He waited only for Mr. Bernard, the Chief Commissioner, and then—without orders or permission from army headquarters—sailed with Brigadier Norman's brigade for Bhamo, which he occupied in time to prevent any interference on the part of the Mongolian authorities. This expedition, with only a thousand men, up two hundred and fifty miles of a river very difficult of navigation, at a time when the country on each side was in a state of extreme disorder, with the prospect of meeting large Chinese forces, whilst leaving in rear a newly-captured capital not too strongly occupied, and even the strategical base in Lower Burma in an excited condition, that might any day be most embarrassing, was the finest part of the campaign. It required rare nerve in the illustrious commander to undertake it without orders, and grand confidence in his troops, qualities the more striking and valuable in an age when military centralization has been carried to such an impossible length that no officer in the field dare move a havildar's guard without first getting leave from Simla. Yet this masterly feat has been largely overlooked. Sir Harry, with the innate chivalry of his (which is to say, a noble-minded gentleman's) nature, took no steps, after the manner necessary for modern advancement, to 'blow his own trumpet.' Relations were strained just then between the Cabinets of St. James's and Peking, and he would utter no sound that could embarrass our Government. It remains very certain that if he had not gone to Bhamo when he did, large portions of the northern districts of Burma would have been overrun by the Chinese, and possible that disastrous complications with that people, whose interests are so identical with our own, might have ensued.

"What, it may be asked, has Sir Harry Prendergast, of whose career we give some further interesting particulars in another column, been awarded by grateful countrymen for this long record of valuable

services, ending with the addition to the Empire of a country as large as France? Not, assuredly, pounds, shillings, and pence; not titles, or £20,000 (or £1 for that matter), to support them on. For his invaluable services in Burma he received the K.C.B. and a medal, which any soldier may secure after a week's pot-hunting on the north-west frontier. Unhappily, his own good services and the early promotion which they had brought him were permitted to stand in his way. He was promoted to lieutenant-general in 1887, and, though Lord Roberts fought the matter on behalf of his comrade, the Secretary of State for India arrived at the conclusion that England could ill afford the extra salary necessary for one of his rank, and the destinies of Burma were confided to a major-general. Lieutenant-General Sir Harry Prendergast left Burma—as he will shortly leave India—to the regret of every soldier, and very many a civilian, in the country. He has, since then, acted as Resident in Travancore, Governor-General's agent at Baroda, and afterwards in Baluchistan, and, lastly, as Resident at Mysore, and in all of these capacities has rendered distinguished service. General regret is felt that, with his departure, the stamp of 'military civilian' who has done so much for this country should be nearly extinct. He will take home with him the blessings and the love of the army, which had hoped to see him its Commander-in-Chief, and the affectionate remembrance of all who have been privileged to meet him."

To sum up the eminent qualities of Sir Harry Prendergast, I feel I must here give an appreciation of him by one who knew him well and thoroughly appreciated his grand characteristics. It was written when Sir Harry was on the point of leaving "the land of regrets" behind him, over twenty-two years ago.

"To sum up, I may say that Sir Harry Prendergast is a notable specimen of that type of soldier in which we conceive our own nation to be particularly strong.

Essentially a man of action, his actions have ever been free from the slightest trace of self seeking or personal aggrandizement. With a valour, energy, and courage of the highest possible kind, he has invariably subordinated self to the best interests of that Empire which is proud to own him as a son. With such great spirits as Outram and Havelock, Stewart, Hugh Rose, and Robert Napier for his captains, he has now by a long, honourable, and brilliant record of battles, sieges, fortunes, disastrous chances, moving accidents by flood and field, and hair-breadth escapes in the imminent deadly breach, become a great captain himself; and in bidding him farewell I cannot but recall the eloquently simple words Sir Hugh Rose used when he wrote of him in despatches after the battle of the Betwa when he ‘thanked Lieut. Prendergast for his courage and gallantry as devoted as they were unostentatious.’ The courage and gallantry are as strong, as high now as in the days of yore; and high rank, much fame, and many honours have not served to obscure the simple modesty, the unostentatious character of the grand old soldier whose name is a household word not only in Madras, but all over India. Honour, love, obedience, troops of friends, all these Sir Harry Prendergast has, and not the least of his many virtues is that he has richly merited them all—and that he may continue to enjoy them all for many, many years to come is the hearty wish of every one who knows him.”

Sir Harry Prendergast left India on 16th April 1892, to the sorrow of every one who knew him. And all his friends regretted that his active service in India should be closed at a time (he was but fifty-seven) when he still had so many years of full vigour and activity before him, and wondered that those in power should be so blind to his great merits, but still hoped that the Government at home would be wise enough to find scope for his talents and energy in some way when he arrived at home. Strange to say this was not to be, for although the Government was well aware of his anxiety for active work, they

failed to rise to the occasion and provide him with suitable employment. He had only been four months in England when we find him expressing an ardent desire for employment in the service of the country. He would have been glad to accept the position of Military Member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India, or failing that to take up the Presidency of the Indian Civil Engineering College at Cooper's Hill. For either of these posts he was eminently qualified by his character, work, and experience. As regards the first he was and always had been a keen student of military affairs, and in whatever position he had found himself he had succeeded first as Commandant of Sappers, then as Brigadier-General, after as General of Division, and finally in his conduct of the Burmese Campaign, and in all these commands he proved himself a fine leader of men and a grand example to all who served under him. As regards the second, his education as an engineer and his thorough grasp of an engineer's duty, as well as his experience in public works and railway departments of India, rendered him a faithful guide to those entering the profession of Civil Engineer. His eminent qualities as a sportsman, rider, and athlete would be safe to ensure his popularity with the students, and his ideals of duty and discipline, and his kindness, courtesy, and pleasant manners would, I feel sure, have made him almost idolized by the whole of the College.

Among those who strongly pressed his claims for these appointments were H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught, who knew and appreciated his qualities and services; Lord Reay, under whom he served in political employment; Sir John Gorst, who was most anxious to assist him; finally, two viceroys of India, under whom he served; Marquis of Lansdowne, who strongly recommended him to the Secretary of State; and the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava, who properly appreciated his fine services in Burma, did his utmost to provide suitable positions in the Political Department when he found

that the military authorities would do nothing for him, and was always ready to bring his talents, character, and services forward, and claim for him that recognition which was rightly due to him.

During two years, from 1892 to 1894, Lord Dufferin frequently wrote to the Minister for War and to the Secretaries of State for India, but in spite of the eminence of those who brought forward his claims, and the absolute truth of their appeals, all was in vain. It would seem that those in power were unable to credit the fact that a man who did not push or advertise himself could possibly have the qualities attributed to him, and make him, as they did, eminently worthy of being employed in high office, and could not grasp the fact that in him they had at their disposal a man capable of rendering most invaluable services to the country. Sir Harry Prendergast's character was so translucent and pure that ordinary minds failed to appreciate it at its real value. All honour to Lord Dufferin, who, from experience, held Prendergast in the very highest esteem, and did all he could to provide suitable employment for him while in India, and earnestly recommended him to those in power at home in after years.

In 1892, soon after his return from India, Sir Harry wrote a letter giving his ideas on the matter of his treatment, but it must be added that he never publicly or personally ever complained.

"I was promoted to the dignity of K.C.B. on the recommendation of Lord Dufferin, immediately after the fall of Mandalay, and I subsequently at his hands met with honours and consideration in the Political Department that contrasts strongly with the treatment accorded to me by the Military Department. On the publication of the Burma despatches the brigadiers who served under me were created K.C.B., while I received nothing, though the expedition to Bhamo and the operations between Toungoo and Mandalay, which I personally superintended, were of vast importance; and

the former was undertaken without orders, at my own risk, and on my sole responsibility.

“The despatch of the Military Department describing the course of events after the fall of Mandalay ignored me altogether. The Intelligence Department issued a *History of the Burman Expedition* confidentially, without consulting me, which is full of errors, and did grave injustice to Lord Dufferin, to me, and to the troops engaged. A soldier has no right to complain because his services are unappreciated, but he may perhaps be excused for desiring further employment after he has been relieved of a command in the field, not on account of failure, not on account of old age or inefficiency, but solely because of promotion which was the result of brevets granted for distinguished service in the field.”

I cannot resist entering at this point a letter I received from Sir Harry Prendergast, dated Yemethen, 17th March 1886, which shows clearly that although at that time he knew he would have to vacate his command in a fortnight, he yet was most keen to do his utmost to arrange matters as perfectly as it was possible for him to effect. “Thanks for yours of 23rd February just received. I came up to Yemethen to settle about the garrisons of Gyobin, Mingyan, Yemethen, and Hlindat, and to clear out Oopaung and other rebel chiefs from some villages to the north about 10 miles hence. I propose to go to Hlindat and thence by Mahlinn to Myingyan on the Irrawaddy. The garrison of Burma is not nearly strong enough for the work before it. I have asked for three more regiments before the rains, and it depends upon circumstances and the wisdom or folly of the Politicals how many battalions will be required next year. So far the Shans have not been against us, except, of course, some wild spirits glad of any chance of a row. If the Shans are discreetly handled we may accept the Protectorate of a large proportion of the country marked on the maps as Shan States without bloodshed; but there seems to me to be a curious dearth

of competent political officers. Captain Raikes of the Madras Staff Corps seems to be a really good man, but we want a lot of good ones. My divisional command expires on the 31st March, so I may return to India in April. In the meantime, if there is luck, I may meet with some fighting and finish up the work of closing the circuit from Mandalay to Rangoon, *via* Ava, Mahline, Hlindat, Yemethen, and Toungoo. Farewell. Wife and daughters at Secunderabad."

CHAPTER XIII

LIFE AFTER RETURN TO ENGLAND

AFTER Sir Harry Prendergast's return to England in 1892 he lived for some time in London, then went to Brighton, again returned to London, and later resided at Sandgate, and it was not till 1894 that he settled at Heron Court, Richmond, Surrey, where he lived till his death in 1913. By 1894 he must have been convinced that the Government were indisposed to employ him in their service.

This must have been a great disappointment to him, but he never showed the least irritation at their strange neglect, and during the next twenty years continued to do his best for his country, and was most energetic in giving his warm support to many beneficent institutions for the advantage of the country and its people. He took the keenest interest in the defensive forces of the country, and all institutions which would tend to improve these services had in him one of their warmest friends. He had a very high sense of esprit de corps, and invariably attended the annual dinner of the Royal Engineers, frequently came to the Addiscombe Dinner, and during the last seven years of his life was invariably present. He was also a warm defender of the Madras Army, with which he had been associated throughout his long career.

During the years 1893-94 he wrote several articles for the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*. His first paper was on "Burman Dacoitry and Patriotism," and was intended to combat the prevalent idea that Burmans were

“dacoits and cowards.” He was convinced that “Burmans have many qualities most valuable to soldiers,” and believed “that Burmans, properly dressed, efficiently armed, and well commanded by officers with accurate and sympathetic knowledge of the people would be most valuable auxiliaries in warlike operations within and beyond the frontiers of Burma.” His next paper was on “Burmese Politics.” In this he stated that the policy of England with regard to the Chinese frontiers should, unlike that pursued on the north-west with regard to Afghanistan, “be firm, conciliatory, and consistent.” “By such a system we may hope not only to attract the trade of China, but also induce the immigration of valuable settlers into the fertile but scantily inhabited valleys of Upper Burma, and may secure the cordial co-operation of China in such arrangements as may be necessary to prevent encroachments on the Pamir.” The next two papers were in reference to “France and Burma” and “England and France in Indo-China,” and the conclusion he arrived at was that England must take measures to facilitate the transport of its produce from Yunnan to the sea by the way of the Yang-tse-kiang to Nankin, or of the Si-kiang to Canton, if the railway from Sumao to Moulmein and Bangkok, and the line proposed from West China to Mandalay prove physically, politically, or commercially impossible; that it is expedient to come to an understanding with China in anticipation of military activity on the part of her strong and restless neighbours; that it is the imperative duty of England to take naval command of the Gulf of Siam and of the China Seas, and as agitation on the north-west frontiers may be expected whenever the eastern frontier of His Majesty’s Empire is disturbed or threatened, it is necessary that an army, distinct from that required for home defence, may always be held in readiness in England, to take the field in the interests of India; and it cannot be too often repeated that power to attack is the only real

defence, the only assurance of Empire." "A home army is required as the second line of defence, but in order that England may maintain her place among nations, the British Navy must command the sea, and an efficient British Army must be disposable to fight abroad."

In April 1896 he wrote a further paper on "France and Siam," shortly after the Anglo-French declaration of 13th January 1896, and at the close of the paper he remarks: "If a railroad is to be constructed from Moulmein to Sumao, now is the time to start the work. But the railway that is most important, and should first of all be completed, is that from Mandalay to Kanling Ferry, on the Salween River, if arrangements be at once made for British trade on the west of Canton River, and on the Yang-tse-kiang right into Yunnan. But mercantile interests will be well served, and it may be predicted that England, France, Siam, and China will all benefit by the Declaration of 1896. France has realized the profit of a fixed forward policy in Indo-China. The inaction of China has resulted in defeat and loss of territory. It seems absolutely necessary that England too shall have a fixed policy in the Far East."

In October 1896 he wrote a paper on the Indian Army. In this he eulogized the services of the army, and in pointing out that the paucity of British officers with native regiments must be a source of weakness, said that he "was perfectly certain if more British officers had been available the troubles after the occupation of Upper Burma would have been in a great measure obviated or curtailed."

Finally, he observed that "it would be well if the idea of our sepoys being only mercenary troops was obliterated, and the army of India, composed of soldiers of Greater Britain who are as much volunteers as the men of our line regiments, termed 'The Imperial Indian Army.'"

In the same year he gave a lecture at Richmond

regarding the overthrow of the Burma Empire, in aid of the funds for the Royal Hospital, the Rt. Hon. Sir M. E. Grant Duff being in the chair. In proposing a vote of thanks to the lecturer, Sir M. E. Grant Duff (who was Governor of Madras when Sir Harry Prendergast conquered Upper Burma) remarked, "The gallant officer had quite forgotten to state that his conduct of the campaign gave the greatest satisfaction to the British Government. (Applause.)"

"Nothing could be better than the management of the expedition from first to last, and good fortune again proved an excellent means of seconding merit. (Applause.)"

This lecture Sir Harry repeated later for the benefit of the "Prendergast Home for Ladies." This Home was established in 1862 by Theresa Prendergast (Sir Harry's stepmother) and her sister, Miss Drummond, to accommodate a few poor ladies whose distress (having been reduced to poverty from no fault of their own) excited their deep compassion. Mrs. Prendergast only a week before her death, which occurred on 10th April 1890, made an appeal for an endowment fund, so that the Home might be continued for the benefit of future generations. She hoped to succeed in obtaining £3000, and within two months of her death over £1200 had been subscribed.

On 17th October 1898 he delivered a lecture on the British Army before members of the Richmond Athenæum and their friends at the Castle Assembly Rooms—he having been lately elected their president. In this he reviewed the formation of the standing army from its infancy to Blenheim, Waterloo, and the Crimea, but from want of time made but slight allusion to the grand fighting in India. Amongst the remarks he made the following are worthy of record here:—

"If in the days of King Henry VII. every village had to provide ranges and butts for the archery practice of the villagers, who were compelled to practise at

certain prescribed ranges, surely rich England of to-day should not only have good rifle ranges for all soldiers, militia, volunteers, and cadets, but should also have shooting grounds where men can fire at unknown ranges on hilly ground, for it must be remembered that though shooting on a range is good, shooting off a range is much better."

Again, "British soldiers were specially admired for their coolness and courage when on the defensive; in India and Egypt they are more feared when they are on the offensive. If well led, they will go anywhere, and do anything!

"So I think in England every youth should be trained to drill, discipline, and rifle firing. In fact, these things should be compulsory at every school, and in order that boys may appreciate the necessity for military service, knowledge of history, and patriotism should be encouraged."

Finally, "Victories are the result of discipline, courage, confidence, strength and condition, skill with arms, intelligent leading and generalship. To Britishers discipline, courage, confidence and strength belong as a birthright. It is the duty of the officers to instruct, to lead the men, and to keep them in condition, and in practice with arms. Be assured of this, that an efficient army cannot be raised suddenly, and that England, if she desires Peace, must stand prepared for War."

A month later (November 1898) at the invitation of the Commandant of the School of Royal Engineers, he gave a lecture on the "Rôle of Mining as illustrated by Indian Campaigns." He took his hearers through many of the wars in India, mentioning Gurrakota, Asseerghur, and Malligaum in the Mahratta War—Bhurtpore in 1805 and 1825—sieges of Herat and Mooltan, Lucknow and Delhi and Cawnpore—Ghuznee in 1839, Ching-Keang-foo in China War of 1842—Ramora, Chitral, and Nilt. He wound up his lecture with this remark: "Success in siege operations in great measure depends

on the genius and skill of the engineer, his capacity for selecting the appropriate means of attack, and his firmness in insisting that it shall be carried out whatever may be the opinion of irresponsible advisers of the General in command."

In the year 1898 Sir Harry was appointed a director of Madras Railway, and retained that office till the purchase of the railway by the Government, and he was for some years deputy chairman. Subsequently he was a trustee for the management of the system of annuities by which it was purchased. His co-directors and trustees valued his services most highly, as his wide knowledge of India and Indian affairs, combined with his training as an engineer, and extensive experiences as an administrator, made his advice and opinion of very great worth. To the end he took a keen interest in the welfare of the staff connected with it, and he was so active in mind and body that his death came upon his co-trustees very unexpectedly as a great shock. His fellow-trustees placed upon record their deep "sense of loss, not only of a valued colleague, but also of a highly esteemed friend." Colonel Gardiner remarked that "Sir Harry Prendergast was a man we all felt it was an honour to have had associated with us in our work."

In August of this year he paid a visit to Ireland, and while there attended the Congressional Banquet given at the Royal College of Surgeons, Dublin, to meet His Excellency Lord Cadogan, K.G., the Lord-Lieutenant. Sir Charles Cameron, the President of the Congress, occupied the chair, and Sir Harry Prendergast responded for the toast of the Army. "He appealed for an efficient fighting army which should be our first line of *offence*. Two ways of getting this, either by an increase of the regulars and auxiliary forces, or by compulsory enlistment by not only the inhabitants of Great Britain, but also of Greater Britain; for there was no reason why the latter should not be enrolled for the defence of the Empire."

During the whole of his residence at Richmond he took the utmost interest in the welfare of many institutions and leagues which were of great value to the country. Amongst these may be mentioned the training ship *Cornwall*. He served on the committee of management. They all looked upon him not only as a valued colleague, but also as a true friend; and stated that "he will be a very great loss to the *Cornwall*, and all connected with the ship will miss one who had such wide experience, and always showed great sympathy with the boys."

It was the same with the "Duty and Discipline Movement." Of its executive he was chairman, and he "invariably showed unfailing kindness and help in the work." Other institutions were Richmond, Kew, and Petersham Association of Baden-Powell Boy Scouts. Of this he was a vice-president since the formation, and as such at all times gave great support, and took much interest in the movement.

He was at one time Chairman of the National Orphans' Home for Girls, and was on the General Committee of the Soldiers' Daughters' Home at Hampstead, and both these institutions expressed "their very great sense of their loss by his death," while the Royal School Committee at Hollingburne, Kent, said, "They have lost the counsels of a kind friend and of a valued colleague, as painstaking in the smaller affairs of the school, as indeed he was as distinguished in the greater matters of the Empire." He was a member of the Imperial Maritime League for some time, but resigned in 1909 owing to the scurrilous attacks made on Lord Fisher. In a Maritime League circular there was a libellous attack on the birth and character of Sir John Fisher, the master builder of our fleet. On the formation of the National Service League in 1907, he joined it, and at the first meeting of the Richmond Division on 3rd May he was unanimously elected chairman, which post he retained till his death, a period of more than six years.

It must not be omitted that during the South African War he volunteered for active service, and patriotically offered to waive his rank if they would give him a command. The Government again unaccountably declined to accept his valuable offer. At this time he was only sixty-five and full of activity.

On 26th June 1902, Sir Harry Prendergast was created a Grand Cross of the Bath—the date being the one fixed for the Coronation of King Edward—the Coronation, it will be remembered, had to be postponed owing to the serious illness of the King, and did not actually take place till 9th August following. Sir Harry received many congratulations from his friends on his long deferred honours, and many expressed their opinion that he ought to have had it long ago. It was more than sixteen years since he had been appointed a K.C.B. for his services in the capture of Mandalay in 1885. It should have been conferred on him in 1886 at the time that two of his brigadiers in Burma were made K.C.B.'s. Some of his correspondents expressed their surprise that he had not at least been created a Baronet. A few months after his promotion on 23rd October he presented the prizes at the annual speech day at Brighton College, his old school. He was received by a guard of honour composed of the College Cadet Corps attached to the 1st Volunteer Battalion of Royal Sussex Regiment. In addressing the boys he said "he was extremely interested to find there was a Cadet Corps at the College, as he was of the opinion that every young man should be qualified to serve his country; and further remarked that the main object of military education was the preparation for war by physical training, the cultivation of character, and the training of intellect. A military man should possess certain characteristics besides the technical knowledge required in his profession. He should be strong, brave and chivalrous, prompt, firm and determined, true and

truthful, self-denying and generous, able not only to command, but also to lead and instruct others."

At the close of his speech a most hearty vote of thanks was accorded to the General.

In 1904 Sir Harry was appointed Colonel of his old corps, The "Queen's Own" (Madras) Sappers and Miners, and, on the 19th May the following year, was received in audience by the King for the purpose of presenting to King Edward an album of photographs on behalf of the regiment.

At the same time His Majesty the King was appointed Colonel-in-Chief of the corps, and on the 18th May Sir Harry Prendergast wrote to Lord Knollys requesting him to thank the King for his gracious act, and expressing the gratitude of the corps. His Majesty in reply said, "It has given him much pleasure to become the Colonel-in-Chief of the 'Queen's Own' Sappers and Miners."

On 13th December 1904, Sir Harry Prendergast received the Freedom of the City of London, and on the 23rd November 1906 he attended a dinner given by the Company of Patternmakers to meet the Lord Mayor and the Sheriffs, at which he responded for the Army.

On the 13th June 1907, the Addiscombe Memorial was unveiled in the chapel of the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich by Field-Marshal Earl Roberts, V.C., K.G., while Bishop Taylor-Smith, Chaplain-General of the Forces, the Rev. F. W. Christian, Honorary Chaplain of the Addiscombe Club, the Rev. Wingfield Digby, Chaplain of the Royal Military Academy, and the Rev. A. B. Hoare, took part in the impressive service. The congregation included General H. W. Blake, Chairman of the Executive Committee; General Sir Harry Prendergast, V.C., G.C.B.; Lieutenant-General Sir James Hills-John, V.C., G.C.B.; Colonel Sir S. T. Thackeray, V.C., K.C.B., and nearly fifty more officers who had been students at Addiscombe. The Memorial

consists of a stained-glass window, and reredos—Christ as the ‘Light of the World’ shown in the centre light of the window, on either side are the Apostles St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew, who took the ‘Light of the Gospel’ to India. The two outside lights have Joshua and St. Longinus, the warrior saints of the Old and New Testaments. The three main openings in the tracery contain the Patron Saints of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The Badge and Star of the Order of the ‘Star of India’ with its motto ‘Heaven’s light our guide,’ the lotus flower also is introduced in the smaller pieces. The arms of Addiscombe College are shown in the base of the centre light. The subject of the painting on the large panel of the reredos is that of our Lord’s appearance to the Apostles when St. Thomas was present and made his confession of faith. St. Peter and St. John are on the right, and St. Andrew and St. Bartholomew on the left. The Holy Spirit is symbolized by a Dove, and the ‘Light’ of the Star of Bethlehem is visible in the typical Oriental evening landscape which forms the background of the picture. The inscription in the window reads :

“This Window and Reredos were erected by the surviving cadets of the Hon. East India Company’s Military College at Addiscombe. To the Glory of God, and in Affectionate Remembrance of their Comrades, who with energy, wisdom, and courage devoted their lives to the happiness, good government, and extension of the greatest dependency of the British Crown.”

The Memorial was executed by Messrs. Heaton, Butler & Bayne of Garrick Street, Glass Painters to H.M. the King.

Lord Roberts having unveiled the Memorial at the request of General Blake, the senior Addiscombe Cadet present, spoke as follows :—

“He felt sure that all old Addiscombe Cadets must be gratified that their desire to have a Memorial to

those who like themselves were educated at that college, had been met by the erection of that admirably designed and beautifully executed reredos and window. He trusted they would all agree with him, that that was the proper place for the Memorial, and that the Executive Committee had exercised a wise discretion in placing it in that chapel.

"Addiscombe existed no longer; not a vestige of it remained. It was from the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich that it sprang, and it was to the Royal Military Academy that its cadets were transferred when it was done away with. Addiscombe was the outcome of the extension of Great Britain's possessions in India in the early part of last century, and it was founded when it was discovered that the demand for officers of the scientific corps, to meet the growing needs of the Indian Army, could not be met by the voluntary method, or by drawing upon Woolwich when cadets could be spared. It was not for him to dwell on the merits of Addiscombe, but he doubted if any school or college ever had a more perfect system of education, or turned out a larger proportion of useful men. As he had said in the preface to Colonel Vibart's admirable work on Addiscombe, that college produced men who throughout their glorious career performed their duty with that singleness of heart for which the Anglo-Indian official was so justly conspicuous."

Earl Roberts concluded his remarks by reading a message he had received from Sir Philip Hutchins of the Indian Civil Service. "The Members of the Indian Civil Service, dining together this year, which is the fiftieth anniversary of the Indian Mutiny, send cordial greetings and affectionate regards to Lord Roberts and those other members of the Sister Service who were trained at the Hon. Company's College at Addiscombe. Without their gallant conduct and devotion on that and other critical occasions, where would the Indian Civil Service be?—PHILIP HUTCHINS."

Lord Roberts also read the reply which he sent.

"We soldiers who were trained at the Hon. East India Company's College at Addiscombe send our best thanks to the members of the Indian Civil Service, dining together at the Hotel Cecil, for their kind and appreciative message. It has given us Addiscombe men the keenest pleasure to be greeted by such a distinguished company; but while thanking the members of the Indian Civil Service for their recognition of the value of the work done by the army in India at the time of the Mutiny, we call to mind that fifty years ago Civil and Military worked hand in hand for the honour of their country, and many a civilian proved what a good soldier he would have made had his lot been cast with the army, instead of in the Civil Service. We soldiers are well aware that the fact of India being held by a comparatively small number of British troops is mainly due to the time-honoured traditions of the Indian Civil Service, to the upright performance of their difficult task by its members, and to the confidence they have inspired among the natives of India as to the justice of our rule.

"ROBERTS, F.M."

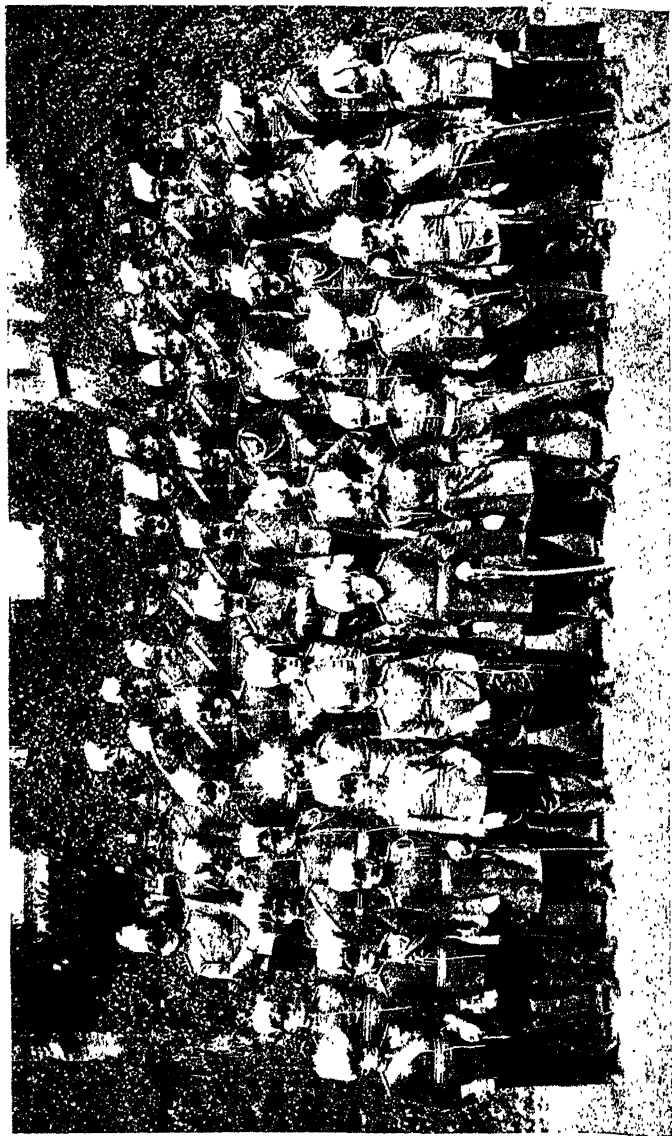
The proceedings included an inspection by Lord Roberts of the cadets under the command of Major Crowe and Captain Dooner, and a luncheon at which the Commandant of the Academy, Colonel H. V. Cowan, presided. In submitting the health of Lord Roberts, Colonel Cowan referred to him as one who by his great deeds had especially earned the approbation of his Sovereign, the gratitude and admiration of his fellow-countrymen, and the personal affection and devotion of those who had had the honour and good fortune to serve under him."

At the conclusion of the proceedings the cadets took the horses from Lord Roberts' carriage, and, attaching ropes, drew the carriage through the streets to the station, a distance of about a mile and a half.

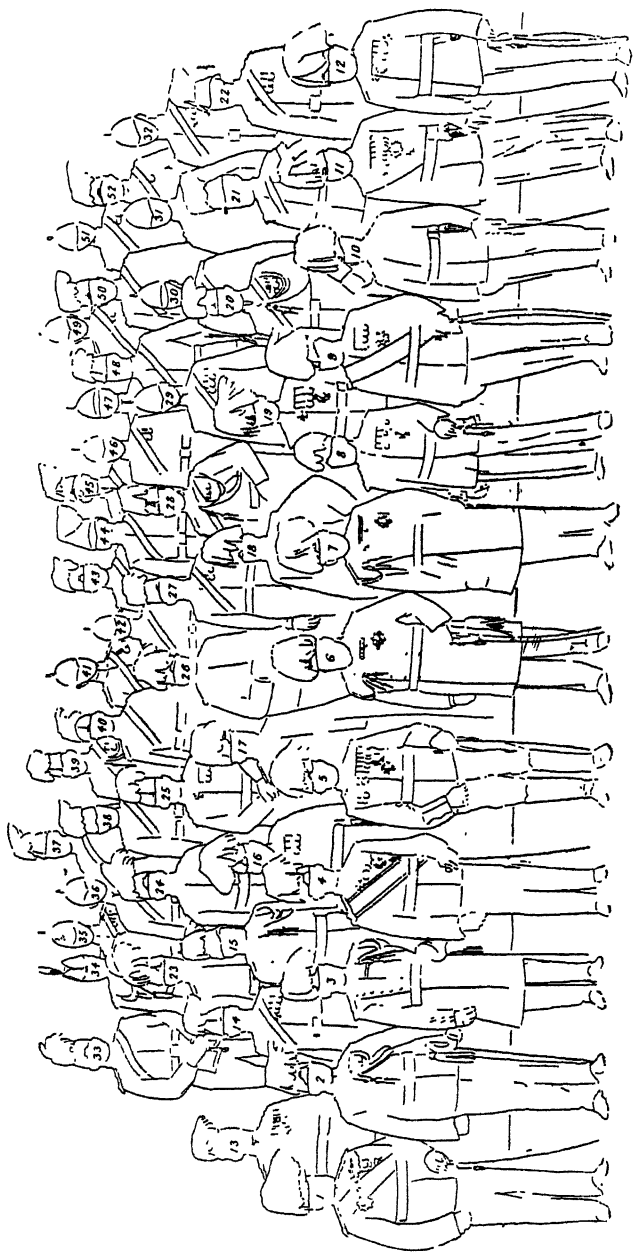
On 26th July 1905 Sir Harry attended the unveiling of the Royal Engineers' South African Memorial, which was performed by H.M. King Edward, the Colonel-in-Chief of the corps. The Memorial consists of an arch of Portland stone, with sculptured panels in high relief showing incidents of the campaign. It is placed between the Gordon Statue and the Crimean Memorial, though somewhat nearer to the former. On the conclusion of the formal function, the King, at the request of the School of Military Engineering, planted an oak tree in front of the south half of the Institute. Afterwards the King had lunch at R.E. Mess, H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught being also present. The King visited the gardens of Government House, and was photographed with a large group of past and present officers of the Royal Engineers. In this group the Duke of Connaught stands on the left of the King, and Sir Harry Prendergast two places off on the left of the Duke.

The Golden Commemoration of the Indian Mutiny veterans took place at the Royal Albert Hall on 23rd December 1907. Sir Harry Prendergast was on the committee which was headed by Earl Roberts, K.G., V.C., and consisted of twenty-seven members, and included Lord Curzon of Kedleston, G.C.S.I., lately Viceroy of India, two field-m Marshals, one admiral of the Fleet, fourteen generals, one admiral, three colonels, one Indian civilian who had been secretary to Commissioner of Oude, the Rev. E. A. Williams, Hon. Chaplain to the King, a Mutiny veteran, and last, but not least, Mr. Rudyard Kipling. Mr. Perceval Landon was the Hon. Secretary.

"The thanks of the country were due to Lord Burnham," in the words of Lord Roberts, "for the sumptuous entertainment, and for his kindly and patriotic spirit which induced him to suggest and take upon himself the whole burden of carrying out this magnificent commemoration of the Indian Mutiny Jubilee."



HIS MAJESTY KING EDWARD VII., COLONEL-IN-CHIEF, AND OFFICERS OF THE
CORPS OF ROYAL ENGINEERS, Chatham, 26th July, 1905.



KEY TO GROUP OF R.E. OFFICERS AT SOUTH AFRICAN WAR MEMORIAL UNVEILING CEREMONY.

CHATHAM, 26th JULY, 1905.

LEFT TO RIGHT. *Front Row*.—1. Major-Gen. Sir Hy. H. Settle, k.c.b., d.s.o.; 2. Col. R. C. Maxwell, c.b.; 3. Col. G. Barker, c.b.; 4. Lieut.-Gen. Sir Wm. Nicholson, k.c.b.; 5. Major-Gen. Sir Reginald C. Hart, v.c., k.c.b., k.c.v.o.; 6. His Majesty The King; 7. H.R.H. F.M. The Duke of Connaught, 8. Gen. Sir Horace W. Montagu, k.c.b.; 9. Gen. Sir Harry N. D. Prendergast, v.c., g.c.b.; 10. Lieut.-Gen. G. D. Pritchard, c.b.; 11. Gen. Sir Richard Harrison, g.c.b., c.m.g.; 12. Lieut.-Gen. E. P. Leach, v.c., c.v.o., c.b.

Second Row.—13. Col. G. H. Sim, c.b.; 14. Bt.-Lieut.-Col. G. M. Heath, d.s.o.; 15. Col. R. M. Ruck; 16. Major-Gen. E. R. James; 17. Major-Gen. D. A. Scott, c.v.o., c.b., d.s.o.; 18. Major-Gen. Sir Thomas Fraser, k.c.b., c.m.g.; 19. Major-Gen. Sir Elliott Wood, k.c.b.; 20. Major A. L. Schreiber, d.s.o.; 21. Major J. N. C. Kennedy; 22. Bt.-Major C. B. Thomson.

Third Row.—23. Col. W. Pitt; 24. Col. G. R. R. Savage, c.v.o.; 25. Col. H. W. Smith-Rewse, c.v.o.; 26. Major-Gen. Hon. G. Wrottesley; 27. Major G. H. Harrison; 28. Major H. B. Williams, d.s.o.; 29. Bt.-Col. A. G. Thomson; 30. Major F. Baylay; 31. Lieut. A. E. Davidson; 32. Capt. E. E. B. Wilson, d.s.o.

Back Row.—33. Col. H. L. Jessep; 34. Brigadier-Gen. H. M. Lawson, c.b., a.d.c.; 35. Bt.-Lieut.-Col. A. W. Roper; 36. Bt.-Col. H. de H. Haig; 37. Col. C. A. Rochfort-Boyd, c.m.g.; 38. Col. W. F. H. Stafford, c.b.; 39. Bt.-Lieut.-Col. G. M. Kirkpatrick; 40. Major E. M. Paul; 41. Lieut. F. V. Thompson; 42. Bt.-Col. J. C. Middlemass; 43. Major G. P. A. Acworth; 44. E. H. de V. Atkinson; 45. Major A. T. Moore; 46. Major H. B. Jones; 47. Major C. H. Heycock; 48. Major E. P. Brooker; 49. Major H. E. G. Clayton; 50. Bt.-Col. O. E. Ruck; 51. Capt. R. L. Waller; 52. Lieut.-Col. J. W. Prendergast.

At 1 p.m. the Indian Mutiny veterans were inspected by F.M. Earl Roberts, K.G. Colonel Sir Neville Chamberlain, K.C.B., was in charge of the parade, while the band of 1st Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry played during the inspection (the old 32nd Foot, the defenders of Lucknow). From 1 to 1.30 the band of the Royal Artillery played in the Royal Albert Hall; the last air played was "The Campbells are Coming," by Piper Angus Gibson of the "Black Watch," the only surviving piper of those who took part in the Mutiny Campaign.

At 1.30 p.m. was the Commemoration Dinner, grace being said before and after the dinner by the Rev. E. A. Williams, a Mutiny veteran.

At 2.15 Earl Roberts proposed the toast of H.M. the King, Emperor of India, after which Miss Muriel Foster sang the National Anthem. A message from the King was then read :

"I shall be glad if you would make known to the veterans who are assembled at the Royal Albert Hall to-day, under your chairmanship, my great satisfaction at learning how large a number of the survivors who took part in the memorable Indian Mutiny Campaign of 1857 are able to be present on such an interesting occasion.

"I speak in the name of the whole Empire when I say that we deeply appreciate the conspicuous services rendered by them, and their companions who have now passed away, under most trying circumstances, and with a gallantry and endurance which were the means, under Providence, of saving our Indian Empire from a grave peril."

Messages were received also from the Viceroy of India, Lord Kitchener, Commander-in-Chief, F.M. Viscount Wolseley, Sir Evelyn Wood, V.C., and Sir George White, V.C.

Lord Curzon then proposed the toast of the "Survivors of the Indian Mutiny."

04 LIFE AFTER RETURN TO ENGLAND

The survivors at that time were :

Officers	342
Civilians	21
Ladies	37
N.C.O.'s and men	950
<hr/>	
Total	1350

Of these 250 officers and 544 men attended at the Royal Albert Hall.

All the remaining men who were unable to attend were provided with hampers, so that they might not consider themselves out in the cold.

His oration was worthy of the subject, and was from every point of view one of the signal occasions of his oratorical career.

It is too long to enter here, but it is to be found in the pages of *The Daily Telegraph* of 24th December 1907. "In vivid and moving passages he recalled the last parade of the Indian Veterans at the Delhi Durbar five years previously. He then reminded the Veterans that they were met for the last roll-call they shall ever answer in the presence of their old comrades, and then went on in lofty and measured tribute to the men of that struggle and the women too ; he recalled the fire-swept trenches, and the shot-riddled walls of the Red Summer until the scene of the struggle seemed to rise to human sight again with the breath of the furnace in the hot months, and the deluge of the monsoon that followed. Name after name rang out as from a clarion, and Lord Curzon mentioned Nicholson and Outram and Havelock, Colin Campbell and Hugh Rose and many another, nor did he forget the Viceroy of that time, Lord Canning. The memorial oration reached its height in the closing elegiac passages when speaking 'of the grace of those gardens at Lucknow where the beauty of nature has long since effaced the scars of war.'

"Lord Curzon brought back the whole melancholy

magic of Indian life in peace and war when he referred to the water-carriers who brought their goatskins under fire to the parched lips of agony, and to the native servants who were the faithful companions of our race in the greatest ordeal we have ever passed through under an Indian sun."

Lord Roberts replied, but to his reply what justice can be done? It was simple, so that deeper simplicity cannot be, and at every quiet word it reached the heart-strings. In a solemn key he recited the death roll of the Mutiny. Those he mentioned are too numerous to be entered here, for the list extended to nearly 70, and many more might have been mentioned if time had permitted.

Immediately after the close of this fine speech the buglers of the 1st Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry (the old 32nd Foot), stationed in an elevated position in the orchestra, sounded the "Last Post," while the whole company stood. The thrilling notes were listened to with rapt attention, and a mighty cheer uprose when their echoes had died away.

Mr. Ben Davies sang "The Recessional," and then Mr. Lewis Waller recited the verses under the title of "1857-1907," which had been written by Mr. Rudyard Kipling for the occasion:

"To-day, across our father's grave,
The astonished years reveal
The remnant of that desperate host
Which cleansed our East with steel.

Hail and farewell! We greet you here
With tears that none will scorn,
O Keepers of the house of old,
Or ever we were born.

One service more we dare to ask:
Pray for us, heroes, pray
That when Fate lays on us our Task
We do not shame the day."

The Commemoration then closed by the singing of "Auld Lang Syne" by Miss Muriel Foster and Mr. Ben Davies.

"God bless you, every man of the remnant of honour filing from our sight for ever, and when England stands for her life again in a crisis as great, may she find men as good."

In the *Illustrated London News* of 4th January 1908 there is a full-page picture of 37 portraits of "Survivors of the Men who saved India."

This includes Lord Roberts, Lord Wolseley, Sir Harry Prendergast, Sir Jas. Hills-Johnes, Sir Alex. Taylor, Sir Ed. Thackeray, Sir John Watson, Sir Robt. Low, Sir Robt. Biddulph, Sir Geo. White, Sir Chas. Gough, and Sir H. Gough, and 25 others, who were present in body or in spirit at the Mutiny Banquet. As a consequence of bringing these heroes from their poor surroundings to this banquet, it was felt that it was a terrible thing to tear them away from this splendour and adoration, and send them back to the miserable surroundings of the workhouse and the wretchedness of the paupers' home. Lord Roberts took the initiative, and decided to form the Veterans' Relief Fund. Sir Harry Prendergast attended meetings at Margate on 21st March and at Ramsgate on 28th September 1908 in aid of the fund to which the King had at once graciously given 1000 guineas, and all distinguished officers, statesmen, financiers, and bankers were prevailed on to carry out this great problem, and the result was that subscriptions very soon came in to the amount of £24,000. It will suffice here to describe the meeting at Ramsgate (the other being somewhat similar). Sir Harry Prendergast was received by the Mayor, and General Sir Chas. Warren, R.E., G.C.M.G., the guard of honour being the Chatham House College Contingent of the Junior Division of the Officers' Training Corps under Captain Hendry, and he was then escorted to the residence of Sir Chas. Warren by mounted police and



LADY PRENDERGAST.
Wife of Sir Harry Prendergast.



the Royal East Kent Yeomanry under Lieut. Montefiore.

In the evening the General, with Sir C. Warren, the Mayor, and Deputy Mayor, attended the dramatic recital given by Mr. Eric Williams. A telegram was received from Lord Roberts, "Trusts recital for Veterans will be successful!" The Mayor, in introducing Sir Harry Prendergast, said, "You must all know that Sir Harry Prendergast was the mainspring of Lord Roberts' scheme for providing funds for the relief of the Veterans. He had taken an immense interest in it, and was thoroughly acquainted with its details. Sir Harry then gave a manly and patriotic address. In this he said, "His object then was not to beg at all for the Veterans. They were too proud to beg. What one felt was, they had done their duty, and they wanted no charity, but they would like justice"; and, in continuing, "that it was well to remember that they would want soldiers in the future, so he hoped that every one would remember not only to do what they could for those who had done the work years ago, but make sure also that they would have the men to defend England in the future. He hoped that every boy and every man would do his duty by passing through some military training.

"Men could not learn in a few weeks what is used to take years to learn, or at any rate many months. The only man who said he could learn soldiering in a short time was a certain Lord Mayor who said to me, 'You soldiering people say it takes time to learn it, but I have been in the volunteers, and it took me two months to know everything!' Well! I have been at it 50 years, and I find I am still in my infancy!"

The admirable recital of Mr. Eric Williams followed. His programme consisted of selections from "Julius Cæsar" and "Hamlet," "The Surgeon's Child," "The Charge of the Light Brigade," "The Address of Henry v. to his Soldiers before Harfleur," and some humorous pieces. He was assisted by Miss Pearl White, who sang

"Rule Britannia!" "There's a Land," "The Sweetest Flower that Blows," and "The Green Isle of Erin." The meeting was highly successful both here and at Margate.

The result of the formation of the Veterans' Relief Fund was that 718 cases were inquired into, and 83 veterans were at once removed from the workhouse; 243 had been relieved from the necessity of receiving doles, and their incomes had been raised to 13s. a week in town, and 11s. 6d. in the country. Between £15,000 and £17,000 had been spent on the men of Kent, and 23 veterans had been taken out of workhouses.

On the 1st October 1908 Sir Harry became Colonel Commandant of Royal Engineers in succession to General Francis Hornblow Rundall, C.S.I., who had had a distinguished career in the Irrigation Department in India, and held the post of Inspector-General of Irrigation for India from 1872-74. He died in his 85th year. In this matter General Prendergast cannot be considered fortunate, for he was all but 74 before he attained the rank, whereas Rundall had obtained it at the age of 53.

On the 23rd November 1909 Sir Harry presided at a meeting in support of the National Service League at the Victoria Working Men's Club at Kew, when Admiral Mann addressed the meeting; after which Sir Harry put the resolution, and before doing so repeated a good story he had heard. "A certain good citizen having died, the neighbours met next day to determine what they should do for his family. One man extolled the good deeds of the deceased, the next recounted the virtues of the widow, and so on; all expressed affection, sorrow, and sympathy, till Farmer Hodge's turn came, and he said: 'Well, Mr. Chairman, I sympathise £10. How much do you sympathise?' May I beg you to be practical. I have given fifty-five years' service, and am willing to give as many more if possible. What will you do?"

In August 1911 Sir Harry Prendergast with Lady



S.M.E. CENTENARY.

Standing.—Brig.-Gen. F. C. Heath, c.b.; Col. H. Huleatt; Col. J. E. Capper, c.b.; Col. R. H. Jell, c.m.g.; Col. L. Jones; Col. H. V. Biggs, d.s.o.; Col. G. W. Stockley; Col. F. T. N. Spratt Bowring, c.b.; Major-Gen. R. C. Maxwell, c.b.; Col. C. A. Rochfort-Boyd, c.m.g.; Brig.-Gen. F. G. Bond, c.b.; Major-Gen. Sir Thomas Fraser, k.c.b., c.m.g.; Col. R. S. Curtis, c.m.g., d.s.o.; Major-Gen. Beresford Lovett, c.b., c.s.i.; Col. H. M. Sinclair, c.b.; Brig.-Gen. G. K. Scott-Moncrieff, c.b., c.i.e.; Brig.-Gen. S. R. Rice; Lieut.-Col. G. H. Harrison.

Sitting.—Gen. Sir Richard Harrison, g.c.b., c.m.g.; Gen. Sir Harry N. D. Prendergast, v.c., g.c.b.; Gen. R. N. Dawson-Scott; Lieut.-Gen. Sir James B. Edwards, k.c.b., k.c.m.g.; Gen. Sir F. P. Leach, v.c., k.c.b., k.c.v.o.; Lieut.-Gen. Sir H. H. Settle, k.c.b., d.s.o.; Major-Gen. H. W. Duperier; Brig.-Gen. F. Ramsford-Hamney, c.b.

Prendergast and some others of his family paid an interesting visit to Prendergast, which is situated close to Haverfordwest in Pembrokeshire, and afterwards to country in Ireland near the town of Clonmel. Early in July Sir Harry had met at a luncheon party Lady Maxwell of Calderwood, who seemed struck by his name, and told him she was the owner of "Prendergast." It appears that after the death of Sir William Maxwell of Calderwood this lady married, in 1887, George Leader Owen, Esq., LL.B., of Withybush, Pembrokeshire. Prendergast Place, the home of Sir Maurice Prendergast till 1171, and the modern Anglican church and village of Prendergast are on the estate of Withybush near Haverfordwest.

Lady Maxwell asked Sir Harry Prendergast to Withybush, and when he mentioned that he was soon going to Ireland, she asked his party to luncheon, and was very kind in offering the use of her motor cars.

On the 31st July he with his party went to the Castle Hotel at Haverfordwest, and on the 1st August visited the Castle there, now occupied by a few police, and had a fine view of the town and surrounding country, of the churches and ruins. The Chief Constable had served with Sir Harry in the Burmese War of 1885-86.

Thence they drove to Prendergast Place. Very little of the old Castle is left, as the walls have served as a quarry for stone for the church and village of Prendergast; a dairy farmer being apparently the tenant. It is prettily situated, and the church and vicarage are well built and kept. The church, it appears, is older than the old church of Haverfordwest.

There are unfortunately no records in stone or brass of the Prendergasts. A pretty shaded lane leads from the Place to the church.

Lady Maxwell received the party hospitably at Withybush. Sir Charles and Lady Philipps were there to meet them, as well as others of the house party; and the banquet was worthy of a great occasion. Afterwards

they walked through the gardens, and then moved on to Fishguard and so to Ireland. Sir Charles Philipps is Lord-Lieutenant of Haverfordwest, the only lord-lieutenant of a city there is in Great Britain. Haverfordwest has this privilege because in olden days the governor was nearly always a member of the Royal Family.

The Philipps have held Picton Castle for eight hundred years or more, sustained sieges, and kept the flag flying all these centuries. It is a beautiful place, with fine parks around it and much of interest within.

As the Clonmel Horse Show was to be held on 3rd and 4th August, Sir Harry proposed to visit Clonmel after the conclusion of the show. However, the ladies of the party preferred to suffer the discomfort of a crowded hotel at a time of excitement in Ireland, to the lull which might be expected after stormy days and nights of the show week, so rooms were secured at the Ormonde Arms from 2nd August.

They visited the town and lands of Newcastle and other property in the neighbourhood, amounting altogether to about 1000 acres, which had been the property of Arthur Hew Dalrymple Prendergast, Esq.; but he dying in July 1910, it came under the ownership of his sisters, and eventually, it appears, it will become the property of Victor Jeffrey Richard Dalrymple Prendergast, a son of George Prendergast and grandson of Sir Harry Prendergast.

In July 1912 Sir Harry Prendergast attended the Centenary Celebration of the School of Military Engineering at Chatham, which proved a great success. On 17th a ceremonial parade took place at Brompton Barracks. At its conclusion 300 R.E. Veterans were separately inspected. Many of these had come from long distances to take part in the Celebration, and there was a brave display of medals, and those present made a fine appearance. The corps then marched to Rochester Cathedral, where a special service was held, concluding

with a sermon by the Bishop of Rochester, who took for his text the words of Maccabeus: "God forbid that I should do this thing, and flee away: if our time be come, let us die manfully for our brethren and let us not stain our honour." In a few eloquent words he pointed out how the past members of the corps had carried out this glorious teaching, and how the Engineers of to-day should pledge themselves as soldiers and men to continue worthy of the unique inheritance that had been left to the corps.

The dinner in the R.E. Mess was presided over by Lieutenant-General Sir J. Bevan Edwards, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., Colonel-Commandant. It was attended by the Bishop of Rochester, the Dean of Rochester, and 160 officers.

Colonel Capper, C.B., Commandant of the S.M.E., in replying to the toast of the S.M.E., remarked: "We actually did not get the motto of which we are so proud ('Ubique') until so late as 1832, and we were not completed as we are to-day until 1862, when the East India Company's Engineers (of which we are proud to see such a grand representative as Sir Harry Prendergast present—(applause)—though they used to come to Chatham for training) were amalgamated with the rest of the corps."

We now come to the closing year of his life, and we still find him most active in mind and body. The previous year the Royal Engineers Old Comrades' Association had been started, and in this he took a very keen interest. Its objects were to foster *esprit de corps*, to organise quarterly meetings and an annual re-union of the members, to circulate information regarding the corps among the members, to recommend the corps to eligible men, and to assist deserving members, on leaving, to obtain employment. The president is F.M. Earl Kitchener of Khartoum, and there are twelve vice-presidents, all colonels-commandant of Royal Engineers, of whom Sir Harry Prender-

gast was one. They have a Central Committee consisting of two colonels as president and vice-president in addition to seven members. Their inaugural dinner took place on 3rd May 1913, and on 27th February the treasurer, Major-General G. E. Scott-Moncrieff, C.B., C.I.E., in a letter to Sir Harry Prendergast, wrote that he had been asked by the Committee "to request that he would do them the honour of presiding at the dinner at the Holborn Restaurant, as they knew that he was much interested in the movement." Sir Harry gladly consented to do so.

The Chairman gave the Toast of "The King," then followed that of "The Corps" by Major-General Scott-Moncrieff, C.B., C.I.E., and then the Chairman gave "The Royal Engineers Old Comrades' Association." This was replied to by Mr. Eyles, late Royal Engineers, and then the health of the Chairman was proposed by Sergeant-Major H. Adams, Royal Engineers. A portion of the string band of the Royal Engineers played during the evening, and several glees and songs were sung, the whole winding up with "Auld Lang Syne."

During the six weeks from 3rd May to nearly the middle of June, Sir Harry Prendergast attended six public dinners. The first was one after the annual inspection of Boys' Brigade on 12th May, when he was chairman. The next was the Primrose League Banquet on 27th May, when Mr. F. E. Smith, K.C., M.P., was the principal guest. This was followed on 3rd June by the Sind dinner at the Café Royal, when 64 officers were present, and there he met his old comrade Major-General J. Bonus, Royal Engineers. Then on 13th took place the Addiscombe dinner, presided over (in the absence of Lord Roberts, K.G., V.C.) by the late Colonel John Stewart, R.A., C.I.E., who was a contemporary of the Field-Marshal at Addiscombe. There were on this occasion 47 Addiscombe men present. The toast of "Addiscombe" was given by Major-General Beresford Lovett, C.B., C.S.I., and Colonel Stewart

replied to the toast of his health—proposing in his turn that of Major-General S. Woodcock, R.A., the oldest officer present; and at the close, on his own initiative, Sir Harry Prendergast gave the health of the honorary secretary. The next night he was present at the Royal Engineers' dinner, which took place at the Hôtel Métropole—General Sir Richard Harrison, G.C.B., C.M.G., in the chair. Sir Harry Prendergast sat on the left of the chairman. “We had a delightful evening, speeches by Generals Harrison, Lawson, and Maxwell, and Colonel Le Poer Trench spoke for the old officers. I wrote to the Committee to point out that I had returned thanks for the old officers on more than one occasion, and suggested that some other officer should take his turn. Trench, who has been an M.P. and is clever, made a very neat address.”

Early in the year I had written to Sir Harry to suggest that he should endeavour to get a book written about the “Queen’s Own” Madras Sappers, similar to that delightful work on “the Guides” written by Young-husband. Several letters passed, and the last I received was dated 5th July (not three weeks before his death), in which he said that “it would be very difficult to write a book in that style. It is quite admirable. The individuality of certain officers and men are brought out surprisingly well by Younghusband. The Sapper seems to me to be more slow and prosaic than the Border Cavalry man in time of excitement.” I still hope that something may be done in the direction I suggested.

Sir Harry Prendergast attended the rehearsal of the ceremonial in connection with the Most Honourable Order of the Bath in Westminster Abbey on Monday, 21st July, in apparently excellent health. It afterwards seemed that he caught a chill in the Abbey on that day, and was unable to attend the final ceremony next day, Tuesday, 22nd. He was very anxious to attend at the Abbey, but was forbidden by his medical adviser. So little was thought at the time of his indisposition that

at his urgent request several of the family attended the ceremony, and it was not till Wednesday that there was any serious alarm regarding his health. He then rapidly became worse, and passed away on Thursday evening, 24th July, to the great grief of his family and numerous friends. He was loved and respected by all who knew him and never had an enemy, at any rate he never deserved one. He was a gentleman true as steel, and in every capacity of life, as a son, a husband, a father, and a friend, was truly admirable. It may well be doubted if he had an unkind thought of any one, and it is quite certain that, if he had, he never expressed it.

The numerous sympathetic letters received by Lady Prendergast and her daughters must have reached some hundreds, and invariably expressed their very great admiration for the splendid character of the departed hero. They would fill a volume, so it is impossible to give more than a few extracts from some of them.

His Majesty the King "much regretted the loss of so distinguished a soldier, who had rendered great and valuable services to his Sovereign and Country."

Earl Roberts said: "I greatly regret I was unable to attend the funeral, as it was only this morning that I heard it was to take place to-day. I often met him in India and knew what an able, intelligent, valuable soldier he was."

George Cave, Esq., K.C., M.P.: "For we and everyone who knew him loved him dearly, and those who did not know him personally, gloried in him as an Englishman and a hero. Apart from everything else, it is a very great national loss. His life will be an example to many."

Colonel Roe, Commanding the Queen's Own Sappers and Miners: "The Indian officers

of the corps were all shocked at the news, and have asked me to say how extremely grieved they are."

Admiral Mann : " He has rendered splendid and gallant service to the Empire. Indeed he has nobly won the race."

Major-General Donald, C.B. : " I really think he was one of the best men that ever lived, and certainly one of the most delightful. My dear old General and true friend."

The Dean of Gloucester : " He was a great soldier, and a good man. I was always proud of my connection with him."

Major-General Bonus : " I have met no man in the service, or indeed out of it, for whom I had a higher regard. No man of more equable temper, of much force of character, determined, decided, a most genial companion and I need hardly say quite fearless."

Colonel J. Prendergast : " What a man ! What a splendid man ! What a splendid life ! How beloved by every one who knew him ! "

Mrs. G—— : " There are very few men who have had so high a standard of all that a man should be, and who have all their lives acted up to that standard. His services in the past were so great, and the recognition of them so insufficient."

Colonel Sir Reginald Hennell, D.S.O. : " In two campaigns together. We all mourn for a great and good man."

Colonel W. Chrystie, R.E. : " He was the most lovable man I knew, and can hardly have made an enemy during his distinguished career."

Mr. George H. Edwards : " The passing of such a man leaves the whole world poorer."

Mr. Archibald Campbell : " Sir Harry always re-

presented to me the ideal of all that is straightest, bravest, and best in an English gentleman.

Colonel Conner, R.E. : "I have never lost a particle of the love and reverence that I had for him when I was a subaltern. I have never met anyone (nor shall I ever do so) who had such a power of winning the affections of other men."

Captain Ballard, R.N. : "His death a loss to the nation."

Admiral Sir John Durnford : "A truly great soldier with a splendid record. I never met a kinder or more helpful chief, or one for whom it was so great a pleasure to work ; for he warmly appreciated our efforts, saw through our difficulties, and always impressed me with the utmost confidence. Those days are often in my mind, and the memory of so great and good a man will never fade therefrom."

Reverend Walsh Owen : "We were all proud of him as a splendid example of an English soldier."

Bishop of Southwark : "Though there must be deep sorrow felt, we were all able to offer our thanksgiving for the splendid and beautiful example of manhood whom so many of us have had the privilege of knowing."

Mrs. K—— : "He was a 'Perfect Knight.'"

Mrs. L—— : "The truest and bravest of Knights."

Miss G. R—— : "Left a splendid example and memory behind him."

Lady C—— W—— : "Such a life is such a loss ! irreparable to his country. The honour he was held in does not hold back 'the tears that dim the laurels.'"

- Mr. Easton Dudgeon : " You have the glorious memory left of the most gallant, modest man it has been my good fortune to know."
- Mr. R. E. Prinsep : " Men of your father's character few and far between, and more seldom met with every year."
- Mrs. E—— W—— : " Such a wonderful personality influences all around, and will live in the hearts of his friends for ever. He is very near the hearts, he never thought would care. A head and shoulders above the people ; fearless, and a personality of such power, and yet full of such kindly thought, and so extraordinarily just—a rare gift."
- Mr. Charles Rolleston : " The valued friend of my early youth. Has left something which cannot pass away, that is the magnificent reputation which he achieved in his long and gallant and brilliant career."
- Mr. A. A. Wigram : " The world is all the better for these noble lives."
- Mr. F. C. Carr Gomm, early school friend :
" A noble and beautiful character his was, and what an example to all he has left us. His genial, lovable character attracted all who came near him.
" And so has passed away the oldest friend I had in the world ; a more simple, modest, true-hearted and perfect character it is not possible to imagine. He was absolutely innocent of ' pushing ' in any form, and, perhaps in consequence of this, I always felt that his merits were not adequately recognised by the ' powers that be ' ; otherwise he certainly would not have died without the *bâton* of a Field Marshal."

Mr. T. E. Toomer, author of *Heroes of V.C.*:
 "Sir Harry besides being thrice a V.C. was the only one wearing the Iron Cross who took part in the upsetting of a pair of Oriental monarchs, both a bad lot, Theodore of Magdala and Thebaw of Mandalay."

Here we may appropriately enter the remarks regarding him made at the meeting of the General Council of the National Service League on 22nd October 1913. Colonel Bird voiced "the profound regret of the Members of the Council at the irreparable loss sustained by the League on the death of that gallant soldier* and staunch supporter of National Service, General Sir Harry Prendergast, V.C., G.C.B., who as President of the Richmond Division, and Member of the Executive Committee for Surrey from the beginning of the movement, achieved so much splendid work. As a chairman his immense popularity, bred of admiration for the fearless, single-hearted soldier who added Upper Burmah to the British Crown, coupled with a magnetic personal influence, ensured large audiences willing to rely on his considered judgment, especially on such a subject as National Service. Sir Harry's name was a 'hall-mark' on any scheme fortunate enough to obtain his sanction." When it was known that the National Service League was especially the work of his later life, an undoubted impetus was given to the movement in Surrey, where his loss will long be mourned.

How his fine qualities were appreciated by his family may be judged by the following, which was sent to me by his eldest daughter, who was in intimate touch with him for many years and was sometimes his sole companion when Lady Prendergast's duty took her elsewhere:

"The True Knight, as so many have styled him, was my idea of everything that a man and a soldier ought to be. I never saw him angry, or in anything but a sunny temper. He was an exceptionally hard worker, and never

wasted a moment, picking up a book to read if he was kept waiting for a few minutes. Writing seemed to claim him for a greater part of the day ; always receiving a number of letters from people who asked his advice on points which perplexed them, and his genuine kindness was obvious in all he said and did to help them. Being a good sportsman and athlete, and one of the best swordsmen of his time, he attached great importance to games as fields in which *esprit de corps*, self-reliance, and chivalry are naturally acquired ; he distinguished himself as a runner, football player, boxer, and fencer ; a very good cricketer, and played last when Governor-General's Agent at Quetta, making nearly a hundred runs. He loved fox-hunting, pig-sticking, and occasionally went elephant-shooting. Polo and lawn tennis were two of his favourite pursuits.

"There never was a more modest man, or one more reluctant to talk of himself and his deeds of exceptional daring and gallantry ; it was only from chance words uttered in unguarded moments that one could guess that he had seen war or gained the much-coveted Victoria Cross at the age of twenty-three. His standard of public life was high, a strong supporter of all good causes, and a hard-working servant of his country. He was President of the Richmond Branch of the National Service League, which had his keen interest from the initial stages ; and his unswerving support has been of the utmost value to the cause. Only a few days before his lamented death, speaking to a crowded audience, he urged upon them "the absolute necessity for public interest and participation in the defence of the country." His career was a brilliant one from the time he entered the service. His first war service was in Persia, and from that time his life was full of incident and experiences, and he soon became a noted man, distinguished alike for his military skill, his valour, and endurance. His ardent temperament urged him to high thoughts and great deeds, and

none were so ready as he to recognize in others any sparks of the same spirit. Himself the pattern of honourable dealing and devotion to duty, he never suspected unworthy motives in others. He had a fine courage both physical and moral ; he met danger and difficulty alike with an undaunted countenance. Those who knew him in India recall his strict impartiality and unvarying fairness. It was the general opinion in India then, as it is to our knowledge amongst many military men in this country, that he was but poorly rewarded by the Government of the day for his brilliant work as an empire-maker, in connection with the annexation of Upper Burma, and the subsequent checkmating of the Chinese by a fine movement. On his *own authority*, without orders from headquarters, he ordered the advance of 1000 men from Mandalay to Bhamo, accompanying them himself up 250 miles of a river difficult of navigation, and with the country on both sides in a very disordered state ; and by this he undoubtedly prevented a large portion of Upper Burma being over-run by the Chinese. In one of several congratulatory letters the Viceroy, the Marquis of Dufferin, wrote : " History will record that in the course of ten days you conquered a Kingdom and overthrew a Dynasty, and this in consequence of the *Vigour*, the celerity and the judicious character of your operations.

" His military career coming to a close when only fifty-one years of age (owing to promotion), he was then in Political employ, and everywhere upheld the best traditions of the service, and won the confidence as well as the profound respect of the Indian potentates to whom he stood as the British representative. Beloved by all who knew him, he had the gift of making friends, was thoroughly sincere and self-sacrificing, never thought of himself, hated publicity, and had no self-seeking aims.

" He was a good Christian in every sense of the word : he lived as in the presence of God. From that Divine



GROUP AT ADDISCOMBE DINNER, June 9th, 1896.

Front Row.—Col. Wm. J. Bell; Gen. Sir Harry Prendergast; Col. Henry M. Vibart.
Back Row.—Lt.-Gen. Sir Richard H. Sankey (Chairman); Gen. Henry W. Blake;
Rev. Wm. H. Johnstone.

support came his devotion to goodness, purity, and duty. Duty to be done always, well or ill, cheerful or desolate; duty to be done by his own toil, not by deputy. Sorrow he knew, but faced it with courage. A very perfect Knight, and one that every one adored, his modesty, unselfishness, meekness, and great courtesy were the charm that impressed themselves on everybody."

On 5th June last was held the twenty-second Addiscombe dinner, which took place at the Café Royal in Regent Street, when Field-Marshal Earl Roberts, K.G., V.C., etc., occupied the chair. I mention this because it was the first following the year of Sir Harry Prendergast's lamented death. The toast of Addiscombe was proposed by Major-General J. Bonus, Royal Engineers (a personal friend of Sir Harry's), and contained a feeling tribute to the memory of his and our great friend. I think the insertion of his speech here will prove of great interest to all Sir Harry's numerous friends.

"Lord Roberts and Gentlemen,—I am privileged to-night to propose the toast of the evening. I do not know why this honour has been imposed on me, and I rise with much misgiving, because I am well aware that there are present many far better able to do justice to this toast than I am, men more apt of phrase, more facile of tongue, men who had done honour to Addiscombe which I cannot claim to have done. But I can safely assert that no one could touch the subject with more true, more keen sympathy. I do not know that there is anything new to be said about Addiscombe, for Addiscombe has no life of to-day. All that there was to say has been said, and well said on one or other of the previous twenty-one occasions of this dinner. The dinner itself is almost unique among commemorative dinners. Addiscombe as a local habitation was swept off the face of the earth in 1861, mainly no doubt because

it belonged to 'John Company,' and in those days 'John Company' was anathema, a scapegoat for the events of '57. It was not till thirty years later that this club was formed. That fact, and the fact that this dinner has been, and continues to be, a great success, constitute, I think, a remarkable proof of the strength of the Addiscombe bond. What is the secret—what the force which has proved so powerful? The buildings in which we passed a couple of years were sufficiently ugly—we cannot have for them the veneration which Etonians have for Eton, or Wykehamists for Winchester; no doubt we all have kindly remembrances of those who taught us; I shall certainly always have a warm corner in my heart for dear old 'Boddles.' No! it is neither affection for the building, nor for the staff, which brings us here. It is partly no doubt the pride, the legitimate pride, we feel in having been boys at the school through which have passed so many of the brilliant soldiers and able administrators who have left indelible marks on the history of India; partly no doubt it is the pleasure of meeting old friends, of seeing the 'old familiar faces,' of talking over old times and past adventures; but beyond these forces there is something which defies analysis—something powerful yet vague and elusive which escapes all effort to reduce it to words.

"I have said that Addiscombe has no history of to-day. That is not strictly true; the book is not closed, there are some pages left, but these pages are edged with black. The old familiar faces are not all here to-night; since our last meeting we have lost Stewart, who was in the same term as our President, and last year took the chair when our chairman was unable to be present, and Griffith, Brab Pottinger, Mayhew, Brownlow, and one other, Harry Prendergast. May I dwell for a moment on this name, for Prendergast was a dear friend. I am not going to attempt any recital of his many and great services—are these not written in the

excellent Memoir by our friend Colonel Vibart, and shall we not soon have a more full account from the same able pen? No! I wish to mention Prendergast, not as the gallant and successful soldier, but as the tried and warm-hearted friend, the genial companion, the keen sportsman, the man who came up smiling after hard knocks, the man who never to my knowledge said an ill word of anyone, the clean-hearted gentleman. May we not apply to him the words which were carved in the front of the mansion-house at Addiscombe, slightly altering the grammar:

“ ‘Non fecit vitio culpave minorem,’

the last words pointing to the honour of Addiscombe. He is gone! But we retain the memory of a man unspoiled, sweet, gracious, and humane! Now, gentlemen, let us lift a cup and drink it up to the days of ‘Auld lang syne’:

“Addiscombe its memories and its men.”

“The funeral took place on Monday, 28th July, when Sir Harry Prendergast was buried with military honours in Richmond Cemetery, and most remarkable crowds gathered in the streets to show their respect for a brave and distinguished soldier, who, in years gone by, had fought nobly, and done so much for the British nation. At the time of the funeral all business on the line of route was suspended. A service was held in the parish church, which was filled with mourners, and another large body of people witnessed the interment in Richmond Cemetery.

“The procession left Heron Court at 3 p.m., and it was through rows of silent spectators that the coffin was borne to the parish church by way of George Street. The band from the Royal Military School of Music at Kneller Hall led the procession to the

music of the 'Dead March in Saul,' and directly after came the gun carriage drawn by a team from the 19th Hussars. The coffin was covered with the 'Union Jack,' and on it rested the late General's sword, his plumed hat, and a cushion on which were placed the orders and medals he had won. One wreath alone was on the hearse, a lovely cross of deep red and pure white roses. Generals and Colonels paced slowly beside the coffin, each with a black band across one scarlet-coated arm, and many other officers followed the gun carriage, and also the family mourners, including his two sons. Seven mourning coaches followed, and then four open carriages full of beautiful wreaths.

"A number of watermen in their old-time coats and badges showed the respect in which Sir Harry was held on the waterside, and several motor cars with other mourners came behind.

"At the foot of Church Court soldiers from the Royal Engineers, of which corps Sir Harry Prendergast was Colonel Commandant, bore the coffin to the church, where it was met by the Vicar of Richmond (the Rev. Max Binney) and five other clergymen, including the veteran missionary Dr. Marks, who spent many years in Burma, the country the deceased General won for the British Crown. The service was choral. The 90th psalm was sung to Felton's Chant. Dr. Marks read the lesson, and the Rev. Welsh Owen the prayers. The hymns used were, 'Let saints on earth in concert sing,' and 'For all the saints who from their labours rest.' As the party left the church the 'Dead March in Saul' was played, and after that the 'Nunc dimittis' and Chopin's 'Funeral March' during the time the large congregation were leaving the building.

"The family mourners were Lady Prendergast, her two sons and three daughters, and many others, besides perhaps a hundred and fifty of his comrades and friends. Of these last there would have been many more had more notice been given regarding the last rites.

“Former comrades of the General were among the pall bearers, who were Major-General G. K. Scott-Moncrieff, C.B., C.I.E. (Director of Fortifications and Works); Brigadier-General F. J. Anderson (Commanding Engineers, Eastern Command), representing the corps of the Queen’s Own Sappers and Miners, Bangalore, of which Sir Harry was Honorary Colonel; Colonel R. S. Curtis, C.M.G., D.S.O. (A.A.G., R.E.); Colonel J. E. Capper, C.B. (Commandant, S.M.E.); Colonel Somerville (Commandant, Royal Military School of Music); and Captain Appleyard and Lieut. Schomberg (East Surrey Regiment).

“On leaving the church the procession proceeded to the cemetery by way of Paradise and Sheen roads, and practically all the way it passed through lines of people. Their number was amazing, considering that it had not been found possible to publicly announce the date of the funeral.

“On the way to the cemetery the beautiful music of Chopin’s ‘Funeral March,’ with an occasional roll of the muffled drums, gave added solemnity to the procession which was met by the clergy at the cemetery gates. A large crowd had gathered near the grave which is on the hillside by the Park Wall. Soldiers again bore the draped coffin to the laurel-lined grave and lowered it to its last resting-place, the Union Jack and the orders and medals first being removed. The committal rites were read by the vicar, and then from the throats of six silvery-toned bugles the soldier’s last farewell, ‘The Last Post,’ rang out. This was the most pathetic moment of all as the pure clear tones of this requiem floated out across the quiet hillside cemetery, and when the last mournful note had died away there was that stillness which only comes to a crowd in moments of emotion. One wreath, and only one, was placed on the grave, and that was the lovely red and white rose remembrance of Lady Prendergast.”

The beautiful floral tributes sent amounted to nearly a hundred in number, and many letters and telegrams were received from friends expressing their regret at their inability to attend the last sad rites.

At the Annual Corps Meeting of the Royal Engineers, held on Saturday, 13th June 1914, the chair being occupied by General Sir R. C. Hart, V.C., K.C.B., K.C.V.O., and 43 other officers being present, it was proposed by Major-General G. K. Scott Moncrieff, C.B., C.I.E., "That a portrait of the late General Sir H. N. D. Prendergast, V.C., G.C.B., Colonel Commandant, Royal Engineers, be painted for the Royal Engineers Headquarters' Mess, and that the secretary, Royal Engineers' Institute, be authorized to open a fund for subscriptions for this purpose." He said, "I think that little need be said in support of this proposition. General Sir H. Prendergast was an officer who distinguished himself on many occasions in the field. He was one of the first officers of the Corps to command an army in the field, and he was one who took a very warm interest up to the very end of his life in the affairs of the Corps. He was Chairman of the Royal Engineers Old Comrades' Inaugural Dinner, which was held a short time before his death. The object of all portraits is, of course, to commemorate officers who have done very distinguished service for the country, and have thus reflected honour upon the Corps to which they belong. The work which Sir Harry Prendergast did in the early years of his service may be forgotten, and yet I venture to say that the heroic deeds he did, especially in the great campaign in Central India, are of a nature which we wish to bring before the young officers and men of our Corps." (Applause.) "It will only be in accordance with precedent that the portrait of Sir Harry Prendergast should be added to

the list of the many illustrious men whose portraits hang in the Headquarters' Mess." (Hear, hear.)

• Colonel R. S. Curtis, C.M.G., D.S.O., seconded, and the motion was carried.

All who knew him well thoroughly appreciated his grand character and fine services. He was eminently qualified for the highest commands, yet the Government always seemed to be anxious not to employ his services, which would have been of the greatest value to the country. His character was so noble that the ordinary official minds seemed incapable of understanding him, and were utterly oblivious of the fact that they, by refusing to employ him, were inflicting a vast amount of injury on the country, and he went down to his grave eminently honoured by all who knew him except the Government, who had for years failed to utilize his invaluable services, and even at the last abstained from honouring him as he should have been. No representative of Army Headquarters attended at the last mournful rites, although the public took care that every honour should be paid him when he was borne to his last home.

Although he must have felt keenly the persistent neglect of the Government, he was never heard to speak harshly of anyone. His character was too noble for that. He was anxious to obtain employment up to the day of his death, and this only that he might work for the benefit of his country, and place his family in that position of comfort and dignity which they so well deserved, owing to his strenuous and brilliant services throughout his life. No man better deserved the honour of being placed in the list of Field-M Marshals as the conqueror of Burma, by which he had added a splendid province to the Empire.

His nature was unselfish, sweet, and attractive in the highest degree, and he had a noble and magnetic

428 BEAU-IDEAL OF A "HAPPY WARRIOR"

personality, and never alluded to the neglect he suffered from.

It may be added here that he possessed a considerable fund of kindly humour and an intense admiration for lovely scenery and other beauties of Nature, and had also a lively memory for all that he had seen and done—from early days.

His rôle in life was to work strenuously and constantly for his country in whatever position he found himself, and to assist to the utmost all those who in any way required his help or succour; and he was only grieved that he could not do enough in this way for those with whom he was brought in contact. In my opinion, he was one of the very noblest men who ever lived, and in his own estimation he got his reward by the love and devotion of all who knew him. His memory will last long, endeared to all who knew him. He was the beau-ideal of a "Happy Warrior."

APPENDIX I

ON 13th December 1904, Sir Harry Prendergast received the Freedom of the City of London, and on the 23rd November 1906 he attended a dinner given by the Company of Pattenmakers, to meet the Lord Mayor and the Sheriffs, at which he responded for the Army.

PART OF SPEECH MADE AT THE DINNER ON 23RD NOVEMBER 1906.

“Worshipful Master and Gentlemen, on behalf of the Army I have the honour to thank you, Sirs, for the handsome terms in which you have spoken of the Army, and you, gentlemen, for the cordial manner in which you have received the Toast.

“The duty of defending the Empire rests on the Navy and Army. It is a subject for thanksgiving that His Majesty’s Navy is highly appreciated, and that strenuous measures are taken to enable it to maintain the position of the greatest and best navy the world has ever seen.

“The Army is at present in the throes of regeneration and reorganization—Not only agitators and faddists and professional reformers, but also Royal Commissions and successive Secretaries for War have done their utmost to show that the Army has been badly organized, badly constructed, badly instructed, badly equipped and badly armed—but the truth is, the Army was calculated for peace not for war.

“Since the battle of Waterloo the soul of the nation has not been roused; for ninety years we have rested on the laurels gathered by the British Army in the Peninsula and Belgium. Since then the British forces have fought, conquered and bled in the Crimea, in India, in China, in Thibet and in Burma—and everywhere the British soldier has shown his worth, but the task of creating an Army for war has never been seriously undertaken.

“The theory that possesses the Government is, that the Army should be small but efficient; they propose to decrease the number of the territorial regiments and of the Militia; to trust to the Army and Militia for foreign service, and to the

Volunteers for the defence of England! I deplore the decrease in the strength of the Army. I have sincere admiration for the Militia, Yeomanry and Volunteers, but all require officers; and recruits are necessary for the rank and file, but I am glad to see that while other corps are dwindling, the City of London regiment is increasing its numbers. The politician of to-day says that he requires the mandate of the people, he wishes to be led by the 'man in the street'!

"The Army does not wish to be led by 'the man in the street'—it wants to be led by its best generals, and to be backed by the nation. The Army of to-day is one of much promise: it has the promise of an efficient War Office, of a system that will work during war or peace; it has the promise of the best of rifles, it has the promise of the most far-reaching guns, it has the promise of an efficient striking force of 150 or 160,000 men fully equipped for war!

"It was not by promises that Germany was successful in the Franco-German War; it was not by promises that Japan has successfully engaged the Empire of all the Russias,—it was by preparation for war!

"What we need is, that the soul of the people shall be filled with patriotism; what we want is that every lad shall be qualified to bear arms, use them effectually, and shall desire to do his duty!

"We want large scale maps that we—and especially our rulers!—may appreciate the extent and glory of the British Empire; and we want statesmen and leaders who will organize an army for war! An army fit to uphold the honour and interests of Britain in all parts of the world!

"The doctrines of the present day seem to me especially pernicious; and those seem to be, that it is impossible to land a large force in Great Britain, and therefore that a small force of volunteers will suffice to defend our Islands against raids. The invasion of England will not be attempted by one Power, but by a combination of great powers. If we can send our troops to South Africa, if Japan can keep 500,000 men in Manchuria, why cannot the vast hordes of Europe land in England large forces, to meet which large armies would be required?"

APPENDIX II

PICTURES REGARDING THE WAR IN BURMA, 1885-86

IN the *Illustrated London News*, from 31st October 1885 to 1st May 1886, will be found more than 100 excellent pictures illustrating the third Burmese War, while General Sir Harry Prendergast was in command of the forces there. Below is given a complete list of these pictures with the dates on which they appeared.

1885.

Oct. 31. The difficulty with Burma.

„ Burman Ambassadors at Calcutta in 1882.

„ Colonel of the Burmese South Hundred and Fifty Regiment of Guards.

„ Ambassador from King Thebaw to Lord Ripon in 1882.

Nov. 7. Mandalay the Capital of the Kingdom of Burma.

Nov. 14. A Burmese Minister of State in Military Dress.

„ Portrait of Lieut.-General H. N. D. Prendergast, C.B., R.E., Commander of Burman Expeditionary Force.

Nov. 21. Expedition to Burma. An elephant battery in action.

Dec. 5. Portrait of Lieut. Dury, killed in attack on Minhla, November 17.

„ Four sketches in Burma by an Officer of the Irrawaddy Flotilla Company: "A Crucified Prisoner"; "Native House at Mandalay"; "Road near Mandalay"; "Burning of Bhamo."

„ Great bell at Mandalay, weighing 89 tons.

„ The Sacred White Elephant.

„ Elephants at work moving timber.

Dec. 12. Portrait of Colonel E. B. Sladen, British Commissioner at Mandalay.

„ Attendants of a Burmese Minister of State.

Dec. 26. Thayatmyo-Irrawaddy Flotilla Steamer, with flats alongside, conveying troops.

„ Burmese village on banks of Irrawaddy.

Dec. 26. View looking up the river from the frontier above
Thayatmyo.

1886.

- Jan. 2. Thayatmyo—Sketch by Surgeon T. Ricketts Morse.
 „ General Prendergast and Staff outside Palace Gate
 of Mandalay. By Capt. A. Hickson, R.E.
 „ Steamer *Thooreah*, with King Thebaw on board
 passing down the Irrawaddy. By Mr. Melton Prior.
- Jan. 9. Burmese Fort at Pa-ko-ko deserted, with white flag
 flying.
 „ The King's War-boat bringing flag of truce to Ava.
 „ Burmese witnessing the landing of British Troops at
 Mandalay.
 „ Entry of British Troops into Mandalay.
 All four drawn by Capt. Hickson, R.E.
 „ Arrival of King Thebaw at Prome. By Mr. Melton
 Prior.
 „ Burmese position at Myin-gyan, taken November 25th.
- Jan. 16. Portrait of Mr. C. Bernard, Commissioner of Burma.
 „ King Thebaw in State.
 „ King Thebaw and his Queen, Soopya Lat.
 „ Arms found in King's Palace at Mandalay.
 „ The 2nd and 11th Bengal Light Infantry storming
 Minhla. By Mr. Melton Prior.
- Jan. 23. The British Flag inside the Palace.
 „ King's private apartments in Palace.
 „ Maloon below Minhla.
 „ The late boundary mark between British and Upper
 Burma.
 „ Boundary between British and Upper Burma, left
 bank.
 „ The silver feeding bowls of the Sacred Elephant.
 „ King Thebaw's gallows.
 „ Capture of Minhla, 2nd Bengal Light Infantry charging
 the enemy. By Mr. Melton Prior.
 „ Entry of British Troops into Mandalay. By Capt.
 Hickson, R.E.
- Jan. 30. Deposition of King Thebaw—General Prendergast
 gives him ten minutes' grace.
 „ Kole-Kone Fort, opposite Minhla.
 „ Kole-Kone Fort, near view.
 „ Maloon below Minhla.
 All four by Mr. Melton Prior.
 „ Reading of the Queen's Speech at the Opening of
 Parliament, in which General Prendergast and his
 Army were eulogized.

- Feb. 6. Removing the defunct Sacred Elephant at Mandalay.
 From photo by Mr. F. C. Macdonald.
 „ Portrait of Lieut. W. P. Cochran, M.S.C.
 „ Portrait of Surgeon J. Heath, A.M.S.
 Both killed in Burma.
 „ Moungoo Fort, Pagan.
 „ A halt at Thayatmyo.
 „ Departure of King Thebaw from Mandalay.
 All three by Mr. Melton Prior.
- Feb. 13. Portrait of Mr. R. T. Allen. Killed in Burma.
 „ Portrait of Mr. C. W. Roberts.
 „ Thayatmyo from the River Irrawaddy. By Mr.
 Melton Prior.
- Feb. 20. The Woon of Bhamo in his State Canoe.
 „ General Prendergast calling on Woon of Bhamo.
 „ The Woon of Bhamo on his way to visit General
 Prendergast.
 All three by Mr. Melton Prior.
- Feb. 27. Tsengoo-myo above Mandalay.
 „ General View of Bhamo.
 „ Flotilla with troops going up the Irrawaddy to Bhamo.
 All three by Mr. Melton Prior.
- Mar. 6. South Gate of Bhamo, showing Stockade Look-out
 Hut and Guard House.
 „ In second defile on Irrawaddy.
 „ Village of Mya-doung.
 „ Entrance to second defile on Irrawaddy.
 „ General Prendergast's interview with officers and
 remnant of Burmese Army.
 All five by Mr. Melton Prior.
- Mar. 13. Fight with Dacoits near Shouay-Gheen. By Capt.
 G. A. Keef, 2nd Scots Fusiliers.
 „ Burmese families on their way to Mandalay to seek
 protection from Dacoits. By Mr. Melton Prior.
 „ Steam launch *Pegu* under Lieut. Trench, R.N., in
 search of Dacoits. By Mr. Melton Prior.
 „ Elephant towing the Armed Launch, Patrol off a
 shoal in River Sittang. By Capt. G. A. Keef.
 „ Principal Street in Bhamo. By Mr. Melton Prior.
- Mar. 20. Palace of the Hlot-daw, Mandalay.
 „ Private Audience Room in Palace, Mandalay.
 „ In search of Dacoits: interview between Capt. Wood-
 ward, R.N., and the Woon of Myadoung.
 „ Finding Dacoits hidden up a hollow tree.
 „ Captured Dacoits on the way to prison.

- Mar. 20. Shooting Dacoits outside Walls of Mandalay.
 „ European Residents at Mandalay presenting a letter of thanks to Kin-Woon-Ming-ye.
 „ Dacoit prisoners on their way to Mandalay.
 „ Grave of Lieut. Dury. Killed at Minhla.
 „ Fort of Sagine, with grave of Lieut. Cochrane.
 „ Scene in Bhamo—Approach to the town.
 All by Mr. Melton Prior
- Mar. 27. Viceroy of India at Mandalay, passing Moola Ismail's Arch.
 „ Lord Dufferin, Viceroy of India, landing at Mandalay from steamboat on Irrawaddy.
 „ Presentation of an Address to the Viceroy of India from the European Residents at Mandalay.
 All three by Mr. Melton Prior.
- „ Ten sketches at Rangoon Autumn Race Meeting. By Capt. A. Graham Schuyler.
- April 3. Presentation of an Address from Moola Ismail and the Suratee Community. Read by Mr. Melton Prior.
 „ Mandalay under British rule. Street sweepers going to work.
 „ Lord Dufferin holding a Levée in the Grand Throne Room of Palace.
 „ Burmese ladies taking afternoon tea with Lady Dufferin in the Palace of Mandalay.
 All four by Mr. Melton Prior.
- April 17. A "Pooay" at Palace, Mandalay, before Lady Dufferin and Burmese ladies. By Mr. Melton Prior.
- May 1. Western Gate of City of Mandalay.
 „ Mandalay, view looking east, from Watch-tower of Palace.
 „ Mandalay, view looking west.
 All three by Mr. Melton Prior.

APPENDIX III

THE force with which General Prendergast captured Mandalay and deported King Thebaw and further advanced to Bhamo, up the Irrawaddy for a distance of 250 miles, was much smaller than it should have been, yet owing to the fine leadership of the General it effected its object. Sir Harry Prendergast some time before he left demanded further reinforcements, and we find that six months after he left, the force in Upper Burma amounted to 17,428; and again, a month later, it was 25,559, or nearly three times the number allowed to Sir Harry Prendergast.

APPENDIX IV

ARMS OF PRENDERGAST FAMILY

CERTIFICATE

To all and singular, as well noblemen as gentlemen, and others to whom these presents shall come, I, Richard Carney, Esq., Ulster King of Armes of all Ireland, do hereby certifie that the Atchievment above depicted T.T. 2 Gules a Saltier Verry Or and Azure for his Crest on a Helmet and Wreath of his colour, an Antelope tripping Proper Attired and Unguled or Mantled Gules doubled Argent, Dos properly belong unto the Hon^{ble} Colonell Thomas Prendergast of New Castle Prendergast, near Clonmel, in the County of Tipperary, and now of Gartinchy Gorey in the County of Galway. All which antient atchievment I find recorded in my office and therefore have given him this certificate. In full testimony whereof, I have hereunto subscribed my name and title and affixed the Seal of my Office, this 28th day of September, An. Dom. 1697.

(Signed)

RICHARD CARNEY,
Ulster King of Armes of
All Ireland.

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